

**REVIVING FORTUNY'S PHANTASMAGORIAS**

A thesis submitted to The University of Manchester for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Faculty of Humanities

**2015**

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**SCHOOL OF ARTS, LANGUAGES AND CULTURES**

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*Word Count: 78,956*

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## ABSTRACT

Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo (1871-1949) was a Spanish-born polymath who, though mostly remembered for his historically inspired fashion designs, was first trained as a painter in Paris and would become a lighting and set designer, photographer, costume designer, and inventor. Working in Venice at the turn of the 20th century with an insatiable appetite for the historic, the notoriously secretive artist was often called a magician. Fortuny was able to produce a realistic night sky using his own electric stage lighting system. He inverted traditional photographic processes by printing horizontally with natural light from the window in his darkroom. And his most enigmatic creation is a series of rarely seen photographic prints made in a lightless process where mounds of damp fabric were pressed onto sensitized paper to form an abstract multiplicity of wrinkles. Despite being an inventor who relied on technological advancements and experiments, Fortuny's deeply historical temperament is evident in his own declaration: 'Nothing is new in this world, so I do not pretend to bring new ideas'.

He invented a machine for permanently pressing the Classical pleats of his delicate silk Delphos gown and with painted stencilling he re-created the glittering patterns of woven brocades and damasks from the Italian Renaissance – often copied from 16<sup>th</sup>-century painting. Marcel Proust utilized these garments, which remained largely unchanged over forty years of production, as Venetian emblems of memory in *À la recherche du temps perdu*, where they conjure Carpaccio's exquisitely painted velvet robes. Inspired by classical Greece and Renaissance Italy, amongst other eras, Fortuny was wildly historic in the way he brought together forms and patterns from disparate times and places. Invoking Michel Serres' illustration of multitemporality as a crumpled handkerchief, 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' argues that Fortuny's sense of time (like Proustian time) is *pleated time* – where the past touches the present.

This thesis utilizes the concept of phantasmagoria in multiple ways. The antique-filled Gothic palazzo in which Fortuny lived and worked, which like the 19<sup>th</sup>-century interiors that Walter Benjamin describes, manifests a phantasmagoric layering of past upon present. 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' also employs Theodor Adorno's writing on Wagnerian opera and Marina Warner's historicised account of phantasmagoria to apply the term to Fortuny's stage lighting designs, clothing, and photography. The thesis follows Fortuny's self-assessment that he was 'first and foremost a painter' to argue that it was 'as a painter' that he thought of light throughout his work across various media. Though he is often relegated to footnotes in the large bodies of scholarship on Proust and Wagner, 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' centres on Fortuny and his work in Venice (a pivotal point of intersection for all three): the watery city of both memory and desire, of flickering golden light and dark, damp shadows.

This thesis argues that Fortuny, as a revivalist, accessed the past through art objects and material visual culture, in his personal collection and from reproductions, to re-create them in the early 20th century. His work is phantasmagoric because of the way it uses light and darkness, shadows and projections, and movement and colour to bring historical images to life, bringing together a multiplicity of times. Though these themes are easily identifiable in Fortuny's work, they have yet to be traced throughout his oeuvre in any major piece of writing.

## **DECLARATION**

No portion of the work referred to in the thesis has been submitted in support of another application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university of any other institute of learning.



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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Research for ‘Reviving Fortuny’s Phantasmagorias’ has led me on several beautiful adventures in Venice, London, Manchester, and Bayreuth. I have had the privilege to encounter several kind scholars, librarians, and archivists whose assistance has been invaluable. In addition to those acknowledged below, there are more specific thank-yous scattered throughout the footnotes of my chapters, as there are too many to include here.

First and foremost I would like to thank my advisor, Carol Mavor, whose enthusiasm for my research project and unwavering support and encouragement made ‘Reviving Fortuny’s Phantasmagorias’ possible. At every turn, Carol provided thoughtful guidance and generously gave her time. Carol, reading and teaching Proust with you over the past ten years has been a cherished honour and delight. Thank you for seeing me through the transition from Chapel Hill and setting me on the path to Venice.

I would also like to thank Cordelia Warr and Deirdre Reynolds who served on my thesis committee and gave practical advice for archival research, assisted in translating French texts, and devoted time to help fortify weaknesses in my early drafts. Having a committee whose members have such complementary strengths has been greatly advantageous to ‘Reviving Fortuny’s Phantasmagorias’.

In writing this thesis on such a varied artist as Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo, I have benefited greatly from scholars in several different fields who have shared their time and knowledge with me. Discussions with Caroline Evans, Alessandra Vaccari, Eugenia Paulicelli, and Alistair O’Neill – dress/fashion historians who thoughtfully balance historicism and theory – have significantly aided my writing on Fortuny’s fashions. I wish to thank Griselda Pollock for a brief yet illuminating conversation on early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Fascist culture. I am profoundly indebted to the community of international scholars at the Wagner World Wide conference in Bayreuth (2013) who initiated me into the realm of Wagnerian opera; especially Barry Millington, Tash Siddiqui, Julie Hubbert, Anno Mungen, Gregory Herzfeld, and Hermann Grampp. I am also grateful to my fellow presenters at the conference ‘Revival: Utopia, Identity, Memory’ at the Courtauld Institute (2012) who enriched my interpretation of revivalism.

I am thankful to Peter Collier for sharing stories of his own adventures in Venice following in Proust’s footsteps and researching Fortuny’s gowns, and for the photograph he has allowed to be reproduced. My understanding of Proust’s *À la recherche du temps perdu* was first shaped in North Carolina by Carol Mavor’s and Alice Kaplan’s different yet harmonizing perspectives.

I am especially grateful (again) to Peter Collier and Barry Millington, both giants in their fields of Proust and Wagner scholarship (respectively), who encouraged me, directly and indirectly, assuaging the intimidation any young scholar would feel broaching such large, established bodies of work.

‘Reviving Fortuny’s Phantasmagorias’ would not have been possible without the access I was given at Palazzo Fortuny, Venice. I am indebted to Cristina da Roit for her enthusiastic help in the archives at Palazzo Fortuny and to Claudio Franzini, the archives director, for patiently answering my queries and imparting his extensive knowledge of Fortuny. I am also grateful to Claire Morens for translating assistance at Palazzo Fortuny, and to director Daniela Ferretti for permission to make a film of Fortuny’s Bayreuth Theatre model. I was profoundly moved by Francesco Rado’s willingness to leave his holiday to make filming possible. The multiple research trips to Venice necessary for this thesis were funded by The School of Arts, Languages, and Cultures at The University of Manchester and The Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation.

I also wish to thank Marjolaine Piccio at the Fortuny factory, Mickey Riad at Fortuny, Inc., Kristina Unger at the Richard Wagner Museum, Bayreuth, and Miles Lambert at The Gallery of Costume, Manchester for their helpfulness.

I am grateful for discussions, advice, and support from Katherine Guinness, Andrew Hardman, Andrew Hennlich, Jenna Ashton, Darin Stine, and Paul Clinton at The University of Manchester, and Christine Chettle at The University of Leeds. I am especially thankful for my fellow Proustian, Sophie Preston.

To dear friends on both sides of the Atlantic – Helen, Dan, Maria, Ashley, and Cameron – I would like to express my deep gratitude for your continual support throughout the process of writing this thesis.

I am ever grateful to Sandy and Milt McPherson for financial provision as well as unconditional parental encouragement and love. Your persistent confidence in me has been profoundly empowering.

To my husband Zeke who has used his talents as an editor, photographer and videographer to help my research, thank you for generously, patiently, and sacrificially loving me for the past ten years. Our marriage has been an oasis throughout dry seasons.

## INTRODUCTION THE MAGICIAN OF VENICE

With an insatiable appetite for the historic, Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo, a notoriously secretive, always experimenting artist, was often called ‘the Magician of Venice’.<sup>1</sup> The origins of this fitting nickname can be traced back to an Italian journalist’s account of his visit to Fortuny’s palazzo in 1932:

Last night I entered the mysterious *palazzo* and was spellbound by his magic: I passed in front of lamps as bright as suns and my body threw no shadow; I saw, spread out on the walls of the immense rooms or enclosed in dazzling glass cases, many-coloured hangings, brocades and damasks of which not a thread was woven. I passed into a remote, shut-up room and saw the sky, a real sky, in calm and stormy weather, extending all round a vast amphitheatre.<sup>2</sup>

This journalist has, in just a few sentences, encapsulated a majority of Fortuny’s varied oeuvre and why his work is uniquely enchanting. Though mostly remembered for his historically inspired fashion designs, Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo (1871-1949) was a polymath who first trained as a painter. In addition to painting, he worked across an impressively large array of mediums as a clothing designer, textile manufacturer, lamp designer, inventor, stage lighting and set designer, architect, photographer, and painter. Here let us unravel the allusions in the journalist’s 1932 account to reveal and introduce some of Fortuny’s diverse creations.

*I passed in front of lamps as bright as suns and my body threw no shadow [...].*

Fortuny made a study of indirect lighting, which he preferred for the elimination of harsh shadows. Though his first experiments with these electric lighting techniques (begun as early as 1893, when Fortuny was nineteen)<sup>3</sup> were for theatrical set design, he evolved them into domed lamps that provided indirect lighting by redirecting glaring electric light away from the intended subject and into the lamp’s reflective dome, thereby illuminating indirectly. (Plate 1) The inventive artist also softened direct beams of light with his Orientalist, fabric-covered hanging lamps. These glowing lamps were covered in exotically patterned silks, laced with dangling beaded strings. (Plates. 2, 3) His domestic

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<sup>1</sup> It is from this nickname that Anne-Marie Deschodt and Doretta Davanzo Poli draw the title of their monograph, *Fortuny: The Magician of Venice*. trans. Anthony Roberts (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers) 2001. [originally published in French, 2000].

<sup>2</sup> Corrado Tumiatì. ‘Il mio vicino mago’. *Corriere della Sera*. 6 September 1932; quoted in Guillermo de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. (New York: Rizzoli) 1985 [1980]. 24-25.

<sup>3</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 58.

lamps came in a variety of geometric shapes with corresponding Orientalist names like the ‘Scheherazade’ lamp.<sup>4</sup> The cohering aim of each of the lamp designs was to reduce glare and harsh contrasting shadows in the home, in the artist’s studio, and on the stage.

*I saw, spread out on the walls of the immense rooms or enclosed in dazzling glass cases, many-coloured hangings, brocades and damasks of which not a thread was woven.* With painted stencilling, Fortuny re-created the glittering patterns of woven brocades and damasks from the Italian Renaissance. As a painter inspired by painters, he often copied these patterns from *cinquecento*<sup>5</sup> paintings held in the Accademia. He blended crushed metallic pigments into tempera paint to give a subtle variation of texture and sheen, illuminating the designs.<sup>6</sup> (Fig. 1) With metallic pigmented paint, Fortuny simulated the *alluciolato* technique, the looping of metallic thread wefts in velvet pile to produce light-catching glints that was popular in Venetian Renaissance textiles. The uneven texture of the velvets with *alluciolato* (a word which derives from the Italian word for firefly or glow-worm),<sup>7</sup> like the uneven tiled surface of the golden mosaics inside Saint Mark’s basilica, produced the flickering of Venetian light.

*I passed into a remote, shut-up room and saw the sky, a real sky, in calm and stormy weather, extending all round a vast amphitheatre.* In 1903, Fortuny constructed a model to develop his proposed stage lighting designs for the Bayreuth Theatre, the purpose-built opera house designed by Richard Wagner and erected between 1872-76.<sup>8</sup> (Fig. 2) The central component of Fortuny’s lighting system for the Bayreuth Theatre model is the cupola, a quarter-sphere dome fitted behind the stage upon which coloured lights are projected. The concave surface, originally conceived as the solution to staging the difficult opening scene of *Das Rheingold* that features the Rhine-maidens singing at the bottom of the Rhine river, was also an ideal surface for portraying what Fortuny

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<sup>4</sup> Fortuny lamps are still produced today by Venetia Studium and Fortuny, Inc. though it is unclear how the manufacture of the lamps is in continuum with the original production.

<sup>5</sup> An Italian term meaning 15<sup>th</sup> century, though its usage in art historical discourse does not specifically adhere to those precise one-hundred years, but often includes works at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century that bear similar formal qualities.

<sup>6</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 119.

<sup>7</sup> On *alluciolato* see: Lisa Monnas, *Merchants, Princes and Painters: Silk Fabrics in Italian and Northern Paintings 1300-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press) 2008. 299.

<sup>8</sup> Fortuny’s plans were never implemented at the Bayreuth Theatre. The chapter ‘Phantasmagoric Machines’ will further examine Fortuny’s stage lighting system and the influence of Wagner’s theatre.

called the ‘infinite depth of the sky’.<sup>9</sup> (Plates 4, 5, 6) With projected lights on the interior of the cupola, he could conjure both the sea and sky. To produce a realistic sky with atmospheric effects, Fortuny studied the movement of clouds and the projection and reflection of light and shadows on rounded surfaces – with special attention given to blue light. In a notebook archiving his theatre lighting projects, he described the sky he had fashioned:

For the first time in the history of set design, we saw a bright blue sky, covering the whole scene, width and height, without betraying any actual point in the distance from the surface – the same for the sea, [...], the illusion was absolutely extraordinary.<sup>10</sup>

Thinking of himself as first and foremost a painter, Fortuny considered these electric skies that transform in colour and intensity as an extension of his painting practice and the new evolution of painted stage décor. (Plate 7) As he himself explained: painting with the ephemeral medium of light, ‘permits the artist to mix his colours on stage, to paint in the theatre as if with a palette.’<sup>11</sup> He confesses his painterly approach to light in another note saying, ‘It is as a painter that I speak of light, [...]’<sup>12</sup>

Fortuny was born in Granada in 1871, into artistic families with rich legacies in the history of Spanish art.<sup>13</sup> His father, Mariano Fortuny y Marsal, was a renowned painter in the Orientalist tradition, known especially for his scenes of Morocco. Following the premature death of his father when Fortuny was only three years old, his mother moved he and his sister to Paris to join their extended family. There, Fortuny began studying painting with his maternal uncle Raymundo de Madrazo from the age of seven and continued to be involved with his family’s artistic milieu.<sup>14</sup> Fortuny’s allergy

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<sup>9</sup> Mariano Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. c1940-49, in the archives of Museo Fortuny. 1. My translation.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 14. My translation.

<sup>11</sup> Mariano Fortuny. *Éclairage Scénique: Systeme Fortuny*. Paris, 1904. 3; quoted in de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 65.

<sup>12</sup> Epigraph quote in Claudio Franzini. ‘Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny’. *Fortuny e Wagner: Il wagnerismo nelle arti visive in Italia*. (Venice: Skira) 2012. 75. My translation.

<sup>13</sup> Fortuny’s maternal grandfather was court painter to Queen Isabel II and director of the Prado Museum in Madrid. de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 15-16. See also: *Fortuny y Madrazo: An Artistic Legacy*. Eds. Molly Sorkin and Jennifer Park. (New York: Queen Sofía Spanish Institute) 2012.

<sup>14</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 19-20. See also: Claudio Franzini. ‘Breve biografía di un arcano maestro del tessuto’. *Mariano Fortuny: la seta & il velluto*. Ed.

to horses often kept him indoors, away from the traffic of horse-drawn carts and carriages on busy Parisian streets.<sup>15</sup> This was a contributing factor in the eventual decision to move to Venice in 1889, a city whose transport relied on boats rather than horses. In addition to alleviating health concerns, Fortuny's mother Cecilia longed to move to a quieter city, and Venice may have reminded her of her late husband who had towards the end of his life wanted to study and paint in the famed light.<sup>16</sup> It was around this time that eighteen-year old Fortuny began to experiment in other mediums and soon thereafter to employ his artistic endeavours in service of his newfound Wagnerism – a passion that would endure throughout his life. In an autobiographical note penned in his later years, reflecting on his career Fortuny concluded, 'I'm always interested in many things, but painting has always been for me, my true profession.'<sup>17</sup> Fortuny's painterly sensitivity to light, both natural and artificial, extends throughout his wide range of work: in his lamps, stage lighting, photography, and reflective gowns and cloaks.

This thesis presents an investigation of Fortuny's work, grounded in original archival research, across the various mediums in which he worked. In addition to his own inherited collection of antique objects and fabrics, he collected thousands of photographic reproductions to study the history of fine and decorative art. He revived old, exotic patterns in his upholstery textiles, silk-covered lamps, and printed velvet clothes, and he re-created historical dress silhouettes in his neo-classical pleated Delphos gown. As a rampant historicist, in his creations Fortuny drew direct visual references to specific historic designs from a wide range of sources. This compiled visual lexicon, though unfettered by any systematic chronological or geographical approach, was thoroughly researched and deeply detailed. 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' argues that throughout all of his work in various genres, Fortuny remained a historically inspired revivalist who maintained a persistent interest in manipulating light.

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Daniela Ferretti (Milan: Skira) 2010. 112-113. Fortuny's uncle's name is also spelled 'Raimundo'.

<sup>15</sup> de Osmá. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 21.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* 23. See also: letters from June 1874 to November 1874 in Charles Baron Davillier. *Life of Fortuny with His Works and Correspondence*. (Philadelphia: Porter and Coates) 1885. Digitized by University of Michigan. <<https://archive.org/details/lifefortunywith00davigoog>>. 164-192. [Originally published in French in 1875]

<sup>17</sup> Mariano Fortuny. 'Notes Biographiques Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo Peintre Espagnol'. unpublished manuscript. 20 November 1931. Il Fondo Mariutti Fortuny at Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. [M 4.4.3]. My translation.

Fortuny's first artistic study of light was in his training as a painter in late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Paris – the City of Light. Following this, he would go on to experiment with carbon arc lighting, electric filament bulbs, flickering Venetian light, dappled Moroccan sunlight, and projected coloured lighting... Following Gilles Deleuze's argument that an artist is always already conceiving a work through the lens of their medium (a novelist is always thinking like a novelist, even when making a film),<sup>18</sup> 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' argues that Fortuny's interest in light can be traced throughout his oeuvre, that his work was mediated through the eyes of a painter. He invented a theatre lighting system that allowed him to blend coloured light, to paint with light. As a photographer, his experimental darkroom practices often inverted the traditional roles of electric and natural light. Even Fortuny's printed velvet capes and silk gowns were designed to have delicate yet dramatically reflective surfaces, which would produce a beautiful flickering of light when shifted by the movement of their wearer. Marcel Proust, in his novel *À la recherche du temps perdu* (1913-1927),<sup>19</sup> compared the sparkling of a Fortuny gown to that of Venetian canals.<sup>20</sup> More recently, writer A.S. Byatt closed her short reflection on Fortuny by saying,

To think about Fortuny is to think about light. Light reflected from silk and velvet – and flesh – light on water and stone, airy light, dense light, almost infinitely varied coloured light.<sup>21</sup>

Fortuny experimented with electricity as a source for both light and heat. He utilized new electric technology to project light for his Wagnerian set designs, making it possible for the sets to move and change in sync with the music. Wagner himself had prescribed such effects in his stage directions at a time when they were still technically impossible.<sup>22</sup> Fortuny's invention, creating décor from the immaterial medium of light, was a revolution in the history of stage design, where even after the advent of electricity light was used only

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<sup>18</sup> Gilles Deleuze. 'What is the Creative Act?' *Two Regimes of Madness, Texts and Interviews 1975-1995*. Ed. David Lapoujade. Trans by Ames Hodges and Mike Taormina. (New York: Semiotexte) 2007. 312-324. [Originally given as a lecture in 1987.]

<sup>19</sup> These are the dates when the seven volumes were first published in France. The last three volumes were edited and published posthumously.

<sup>20</sup> Marcel Proust. *The Captive. In Search of Lost Time*. Trans. Terence Kilmartin, D.J. Enright C.K. Scott Moncrieff. (New York: The Modern Library) 2003. Vol. V 531,538.

<sup>21</sup> A.S. Byatt. 'Fortuny'. *Gondola Days*. No.145 (Venice: Linea d'Acqua) 2012. <<http://www.gondoladays.it/articles/fortuny/>>

<sup>22</sup> See: Patrick Carnegy. *Wagner and the Art of the Theatre*. (New Haven: Yale University Press) 2006. 176. I am grateful to my 'Wagner World Wide' Bayreuth cohort for helpful related discussions.



for the direct illumination of actors on painted and plastic sets.<sup>23</sup> To realize his theatre model that utilized electric lights and older optical tricks with lamps, Fortuny was a magician, photologist, and photographer. He read scientific journals on photology, books on dynamo machines (early electric generators) and he was even featured in a 1908 publication, *La Science au Théâtre: étude sur les procédés scientifiques en usage dans le théâtre moderne* (*The Science of Theatre: a study of the scientific processes used in modern theatre*).<sup>24</sup> In *The Science of Theatre*, which Fortuny had in his library, there are many demonstrations meant for creating illusions for theatre productions that look rather like magic tricks. (Figs. 3a, b, c)

As it was for those polymaths Fortuny read, admired and studied – the Prussian scientist Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) who wrote lyric passages bringing together astronomy, anthropology, physics, and biology, the Italian artist Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) who invented flying machines, and the German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) who published on the optical phenomena of colour – scientific study and the arts were intertwined.<sup>25</sup> Humboldt travelled extensively in an attempt to cover the entire globe in research for his staggeringly encompassing *Cosmos: A Sketch of the Physical Description of the Universe*. Writing in French, Humboldt began his massive series by describing the work as: ‘Considerations on the different degrees of pleasure [*jouissance*] offered by the aspect of nature and the study of her laws’.<sup>26</sup> Like Fortuny who made a special study of blue light (noting how it behaves differently), on his travels Humboldt would measure the relative blueness of the skies with his cyanometer – ‘a scale of fifty-two shades of blue’.<sup>27</sup> (Plate 8) Fortuny studied the skies in order to re-create them.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> This is Rogelio Egusquiza’s chief complaint in his essay, ‘Über die Beleuchtung der Bühne’. *Bayreuther Blätter*. June 1885 that will be discussed further in ‘Phantasmagoric Machines’.

<sup>24</sup> These books are held in his library at Museo Fortuny. Fortuny mentions reading journal articles on light in *Théâtre Lumière*. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Humboldt’s *Cosmos* series and a number of books on Leonardo da Vinci and by Goethe are held in Fortuny’s library.

<sup>26</sup> Alexandre de Humboldt [Alexander von Humboldt]. *Cosmos: Essai d’une Description Physique du Monde* Vol. 1. Quatrième Édition. (Paris: Legrand, Pomey, et Crouzet Libraries-Éditeurs). From the undated edition in Fortuny’s collection, A11.41. My translation.

<sup>27</sup> Götz Hoeppe. ‘Basic Phenomenon, or Optical Illusion?’ *Why the Sky is Blue: Discovering the Color of Life*. Trans. John Stewart. (Princeton, NJ and Woodstock, England: Princeton University Press) 1999. 108-130. 110; 110-112. The cyanometer was invented by Horace-Bénédict de Saussure in the 1760s.

<sup>28</sup> This will be further explored in ‘Phantasmagoric Machines’.

There is a photograph taken of Fortuny amidst his theatre maquettes in his palazzo that can be read as a portrait, conveying these different facets of his scientific and artistic approach. (Fig. 4) With his body mainly obscured by scaffolding, he resembles a disembodied stage magician in the middle of a floating head trick (not unlike the decapitation trick in Fig. 3a). The untidy dangling electrical wires also make his atelier look like the laboratory of a mad scientist, the effect of which is enhanced by Fortuny's thick dishevelled hair and white coat. The scene is filled with many folds of fabric including a miniature striped curtain on the stage model and its unpatterned double surrounding the structure to block out any ambient light for the testing of the stage lighting effects. Fortuny would peer into the large blackout curtain like a draped photographer using a large-format camera.

Fortuny's use of electricity also extended to his gowns. He patented his pleating machine as a unique invention in 1909 that used electrical currents to warm the delicate silk for his Delphos gown as it was pressed into pleats between its heated tubes.<sup>29</sup> Seeing himself as more of an inventor than a fashion designer, Fortuny continued to use and refine the same pleating process for his silk gowns throughout his entire career. He referenced old dyer's recipe books and tested new ingredients and methods to re-create historical designs. The Delphos gown was directly inspired from its namesake – the Ancient Greek sculpture of the Delphic Charioteer.<sup>30</sup> As a rogue revivalist, Fortuny took direct inspiration from several different historical eras. He re-created patterns from his collection of exotic antique fabrics, and he studied the painted garments in the works of Vittore Carpaccio and Giovanni Bellini to emulate in his velvet capes and cloaks. His glistening pleated silk gowns and shimmering patterned velvets conjure their historical referents. He accessed fashions of the past through art objects and material visual culture in his personal collection and from photographic reproductions to re-create them in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' examines the themes of revivalism, memory, light, shadows, magic, and secrecy that run throughout his wide-ranging oeuvre. To bind together these themes in Fortuny's work, this thesis employs the concept of phantasmagoria in two ways: primarily how it describes historically-inspired illusions or reappearances, like those of magic lantern projections, but also as it has been used as an

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<sup>29</sup> This also will be further explored in 'Phantasmagoric Machines'.

<sup>30</sup> This will be examined in detail in 'Pleated Time'

illustration of the Marxist conception of the commodity fetish. This thesis argues that Fortuny's oeuvre is phantasmagoric in both of these ways by utilizing Walter Benjamin's and Theodor Adorno's writings on phantasmagoria as a sort of irrational or deceptive vision that leads to fetishism, as well as Marina Warner's historicized examination of phantasmagorias as ephemeral optical illusions.<sup>31</sup>

The term 'phantasmagoria' in Greek means 'assembly of phantasms,' from which famed phantasmagorian Etienne-Gaspard Robertson's moving picture show was named 'Fantasmagorie.'<sup>32</sup> Commencing in the throes of the French Revolution, Robertson's show utilized the magic lantern along with mirrors and screens to depict gruesome scenes of the action, particularly of the recently dead. His optical tricks made the dead appear to be alive, or reincarnated as ghosts as their projected images moved across smoke clouds in the darkness.<sup>33</sup> Phantasmagoria is the visual trickery that enables a resurrection of the past materialized through the ephemerality of smoke, light, and shadows. Just as magic lantern operators would project images of the past, moving as flickering mirages or resurrected ghosts, Fortuny's garments revived historic dress. The revived image of the past is what Proust saw in Fortuny's gowns; 'the magnificent garments of the women of Carpaccio's and Titian's day', which had returned, 'for everything must return in time, [...]'.<sup>34</sup>

Perhaps most technically similar to the phantasmagoric projections of the magic lantern are Fortuny's manipulations of the ephemeral medium of light (both natural and artificial) in his photographic inventions in the darkroom and in his stage lighting system, which created moving scenery. In the notebook describing his theatre lighting system, he likens his inventions to magic lanterns, both of which used lights, coloured slides, and mirrors in the dark.<sup>35</sup> Some of the lighting machines look like zoetropes and large-format cameras in front of screens of cotton, silk, and satin. Fortuny's stage designs were

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<sup>31</sup> Walter Benjamin. *The Arcades Project*. Trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin. (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press) 1999; Walter Benjamin. *Illuminations*. ed. Hannah Arendt. trans. Harry Zorn. (London: Pimlico) 1999; Theodor Adorno. *In Search of Wagner*. Trans. Rodney Livingstone. (London: Verso) 2004; *The complete correspondence, 1928-1940/Theodor W. Adorno and Walter Benjamin*. Ed. Henri Lonitz. Trans. Nicholas Walker. (Cambridge: Polity Press) 1999. and Marina Warner's *Phantasmagoria: Spirits Visions, Metaphors, and Media into the Twenty-first Century*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press) 2006.

<sup>32</sup> Warner. *Phantasmagoria*. 147.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* 147-149.

<sup>34</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V, *The Captive*. 497-498.

<sup>35</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 15.

productions of phantasmagorias as he sought to facilitate the creation of Wagnerian operas' prescribed seamlessness in all-encompassing illusions that would produce a sort of temporal and spatial vertigo. Adorno has argued in his book on Wagner that the completeness of these phantasmagorias rests on the concealment of the labour used to produce them.<sup>36</sup>

Adorno's use of the term 'phantasmagoria' is founded on its utilisation in Marxist discourse to describe how the consumer is enraptured with the commodity object that has had all trace of its labour production erased (the alienation of worker from product).<sup>37</sup> Marx himself in *Das Kapital* used the word 'phantasmagorische' to describe the consumer's fetishizing relation to the commodity.<sup>38</sup> Fortuny's notoriously secretive working processes, across most all media, would have fostered this phantasmagoric relation. The mystery surrounding his creations certainly encouraged his reputation as a magician. Also working from Marx's use of the term, in Benjamin's notes for a section titled 'The Metaphysics of Fashion' in *The Arcades Project*, he observes that the tactility of fashion further complicates the subject/object relationship as regards the fetishisation of commodity objects.<sup>39</sup> As Susan Buck-Morss explains in her examination of those *Arcades* notes, 'In fashion, the phantasmagoria of commodities presses closest to the skin.'<sup>40</sup>

Through Fortuny's clothing designs, stage lighting designs, workspaces, inventions, and photography, 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' traces both these aspects of phantasmagoria as a way to unify the themes of history, light, and magic. In the same way that he drew from widely variable sources for inspiration yet remained radically historical and focused on singular forms, to revive Fortuny's creations this thesis draws formal and contextual connections across art, literature, and visual culture through historicized analysis. Just as Fortuny himself was indebted to historical, object-based research, this thesis is thoroughly rooted in original archival research: the gowns, tunics, and capes at the Victoria and Albert in London; the printed velvets at the

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<sup>36</sup> Adorno. *In Search of Wagner*. This is explored in 'Phantasmagoric Machines'.

<sup>37</sup> I am specifically referring to his book on Wagner, though he uses the term elsewhere.

<sup>38</sup> Karl Marx. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. Vol. 1. Trans. Ben Fowkes. (London; New York: Penguin Books) 1990. 165. This will be further discussed in 'Phantasmagoric Machines'

<sup>39</sup> Susan Buck-Morss. *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*. (Cambridge, Mass.; London: MIT Press) 1989. 97.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

Whitworth Gallery and a well-worn Delphos at the Gallery of Costume in Manchester; and Fortuny's maquettes, paintings, notebooks, photographs, albums, collected objects, artworks, and books at Museo Fortuny (the former home of the artist), his letters, patents, blueprints, and press clippings at the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice. This approach mirrors Fortuny's as a sort of 'radical historicism' that is devoted more to the historicisation of material objects and emergent themes than to any single theoretical framework.<sup>41</sup>

The methodological approach of 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' can be further illuminated by examining an exchange between Theodor Adorno and Walter Benjamin on the role of theory and historical materialism. In a letter dated 10 November 1938, Adorno told Benjamin, his friend and colleague, that his essay on Baudelaire lacked sufficient use of theory; that his 'immediate' 'materialism harbours a profoundly romantic element'.<sup>42</sup> Adorno warned that,

the theological motif of calling things by their names tends to switch into the wide-eyed presentation of mere facts. If one wanted to put it rather drastically, one could say that your study is located at the crossroads of magic and positivism. This spot is bewitched.<sup>43</sup>

Adorno points to the romanticisation that is often the fruit of simply 'calling things by their names.' This has certainly been a danger in writing on an artist whose work is so impressively varied and accomplished that he is often called a magician, alchemist, or wizard not only in 19<sup>th</sup>-century writing but also in scholarship as recent as 2013.<sup>44</sup> When it comes to scholarship on Fortuny, the spot seems bewitched. To simply name all of Fortuny's works would in itself be an accomplishment and still somewhat of an advancement in the small field of relevant scholarship that is available.

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<sup>41</sup> I feel a particular resonance with what Wagner scholar Laurence Dreyfus claims for his own use of this phrase to summarize his methodological approach: 'Although twentieth- and twenty-first-century critical theories may be pulling strings behind the scenes, I don't advocate any particular theoretical position beyond pursuing what I'd call a radical historicism, seeking out relevant documentary and musical evidence wherever I can find it.' Dreyfus. *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*. (Cambridge, Mass and London, England: Harvard University Press) 2010. xii.

<sup>42</sup> Letter 110, Adorno to Benjamin. New York. 10 November 1938. *The Complete Correspondence 1928-1940*. 283.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>44</sup> Brandin Barón-Nusbaum. 'Forgotten Wizard: The Scenographic Innovations of Mariano Fortuny'. *Theatre, Performance and Analogue Technology*. Ed. Kara Reilly. (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan) 2013.

Benjamin, in his response to Adorno, defends the usefulness of giving significant consideration to material details, even employing Adorno's own writing to support his point.

When you speak of a "wide-eyed presentation of mere facts" you are characterizing the proper philological attitude. [...] Philology consists in an examination of texts which proceeds by details and thus magically fixates the reader on it. What Faust took home with him in black and white, and Grimm's fascination with little things, are closely related to one another. What they have in common is that magical element whose exorcism falls to philosophy, here to the final part. You [Adorno] write in your Kierkegaard that "astonishment" reveals "the profoundest insight into the relationship between dialectics, myth and image." I might feel tempted to invoke this passage here. But instead I propose an amendment to it [...]. I think one should say that astonishment is an outstanding *object* of such an insight. The appearance of closed facticity which attaches to philological investigation and places the investigator under its spell, dissolves precisely to the degree in which the object is construed from a historical perspective.<sup>45</sup>

As seen particularly in exhibition catalogue essays from recent projects at Palazzo Fortuny, enchantment often results from presenting Fortuny's artworks, designs, and workspaces. To dissolve the spell, as Benjamin states, one must historicize. The exhibitions at Palazzo Fortuny that most induce entranced fascination are those by the Axel Vervoordt Foundation that embrace a 'cabinet of curiosities' style of display that subdues historical contextualisation.<sup>46</sup> 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' aims not to 'magically fixate' its readers, but to give insight that might lead to a richer sense of astonishment.

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<sup>45</sup> Letter 111, Benjamin to Adorno [Paris] 9 December 1938. *Theodore Adorno and Walter Benjamin The Complete Correspondence 1928-1940*. 291-292.

<sup>46</sup> Most notably; *Artempo* curated by Mattijs Visser, Jean-Hubert Martin, Giandomenico Romanelli, and Daniela Ferretti through collaboration of Musei Civici Veneziani and Axel Vervoordt (9 June – 5 November 2007); and *Tra* curated by Daniela Ferretti, Rosa Martínez, Francesco Poli, Axel Verdoordt. (4 June – 27 November 2011). It should be mentioned that other exhibitions at Palazzo Fortuny that centre on Fortuny tend to be more historicized: *Mariano Fortuny Viaggio in Egitto Appunti fotografici d'artista* curated by Daniela Ferretti (27 March – 27 June 2004); *L'occhio di Fortuny: Panorami, ritratti e altre visioni* curated by Silvio Fuso (17 December 2005 - 7 January 2007); *Mariano Fortuny: La Seta e Il Velluto* curated by Daniela Ferretti and Claudio Franzini (4 September 2010 – 9 January 2011); *Fortuny e Wagner: Il wagnerismo nelle arti visive in Italia* curated by Paolo Bolpagni. (8 December 2012 - 8 April 2013).

‘The appearance of closed facticity’ is often given through strictly chronological retellings of Fortuny’s life. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, in her introduction to *Novel Gazing*, has called this sort of interpretation that maintains ‘a distinctively rigid relation to temporality’ ‘paranoid reading’.<sup>47</sup> Readings that fixate on the chronology of Fortuny’s life and work have been foundational to further study. Accuracy in these details is, of course, imperative, however, hopefully there is a way to correct factual mistakes without the defensiveness and closed-off tone of ‘paranoid reading’.<sup>48</sup>

Sedgwick finds a queer temporality in Marcel Proust’s *À la recherche*, where time is left unpunctuated by the hetero-normative events of childbearing and childrearing, which had the effect of obscuring the ageing process of many of the characters.<sup>49</sup> There is also a non-normative, unmeasured temporality in both Fortuny’s life and work. The artist and his wife never had children and he continued to stay close to his mother throughout his life. After his father’s premature death when he was only three years old, uncles and mentors stepped in as surrogate teachers. Fortuny garments held in museum collections often cannot be dated, as he did not change his designs season after season like other designers. He continued to make the same historically inspired garments throughout his career, only refining the production processes. His patented Delphos gowns are virtually impossible to date without personal purchase records. Wagnerian scenes permeate Fortuny’s oeuvre from beginning to end, across all media: costumes, lighting and set designs, murals, paintings, etchings, watercolours, drawings, and photographic studies.

Like the audibly reoccurring themes in Wagnerian opera, known as *leitmotifs*, this thesis traces the reappearing motifs in Fortuny’s work instead of following a strict chronological narrative. ‘Reviving Fortuny’s Phantasmagorias’ interprets Fortuny’s curious temporality – the relentless returning of the past – as ‘phantasmagoric time’ and ‘pleated time’. In addition to identifying Fortuny’s creations as phantasmagorias, this thesis argues that he cultivated and worked from a phantasmagoric time where, in his rampant revivalism, illusions from the past were conjured and brought into the present.

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<sup>47</sup> From Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick’s intro to *Novel Gazing: Queer Readings in Fiction*. Ed. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick. (Durham, North Carolina and London: Duke University Press) 1997. 1- 39. 24.

<sup>48</sup> Later in this Introduction, I will attempt to provide corrections for errors I have found in the work on Fortuny in the footnotes of my review of existing literature, in hopes of aiding further researchers. See footnote 96.

<sup>49</sup> Sedgwick. *Novel Gazing*. 26.

‘Phantasmagoric time’ is meant to describe the confusion of linear temporality where, as it does in Proustian moments of involuntary memory, the past rushes forth. Venice, Fortuny’s watery city, is particularly phantasmagoric for Proust. Proust concludes his ‘On Reading’ (the preface to the French translation of John Ruskin’s *Sesame and Lilies*) with an example of how reading conjures scenes of the past. Not coincidentally, his example is set in Venice – a city that, for Proust, is always phantasmagoric. He describes how the present is interrupted and even overlaps with the past; how reading triggers hallucinations.

How many times, in *The Divine Comedy*, in Shakespeare, have I known that impression of having before me, inserted into the present actual hour, a little of the past, that *dreamlike impression* which one experiences in Venice on the Piazzetta, before its two columns of gray and pink granite that support on their Greek capitals, one the Lion of Saint Mark, the other Saint Theodore trampling the crocodile under his feet – [...]. Yes, in the middle of the public square, in the midst of today whose empire it interrupts at this place, a little of the twelfth century, of the twelfth century long vanished, springs up in a double, light thrust of pink granite. All around, the actual days, the days we are living, circulate, rush buzzing around the columns, but suddenly stop there, flee like repelled bees; for those high and slender enclaves of the past are not in the present, but in another time where the present is forbidden to penetrate. Around the pink columns, surging up toward their wide capitals, the days of the present crowd and buzz. But, interposed between them, the columns push them aside, reserving with all their slender impenetrability the inviolate place of the Past: *of the Past familiarly risen in the midst of the present*, with that rather unreal complexion of things which *a kind of illusion* makes us see a few steps ahead, and which are actually situated back many centuries; appealing in its whole aspect a little too positively to the mind, overexciting it a little, as should not be surprising on the part of a *ghost from a buried past*; yet there, in our midst, approached, pressed against, touched, motionless, in the sun.<sup>50</sup>

Proust later scripted Venice as a key motif in *À la recherche*. Again, he wrote about it as a place where temporality is easily transfigured, where ghosts of the past are conjured up as if from a magic lantern that superimposes the old onto the new. It will be in the piazza

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<sup>50</sup> Marcel Proust. ‘On Reading Ruskin’. Preface to John Ruskin’s *Sesame and Lilies*. *Prefaces to La Bible d’Amiens and Sésame et les Lys*. Trans. and ed. Jean Autret, William Burford, and Phillip J. Wolfe. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press) 1987. 99-141. 128-129. My italics.



in front of Saint Mark's, just adjacent to the grey and pink columns in the piazzetta, that Proust's narrator trips on a paving stone – a catalyst for the surging forth of involuntary memories.<sup>51</sup>

These moments of involuntary memory cause Proust's narrative to fold back onto itself, pleating together the time between the past and the present. The concept of 'pleated time' is derived from an analogy Michel Serres uses in *Conversations on Science, Culture, and Time* with Bruno Latour.<sup>52</sup> Serres argues that time has been read geometrically when really it should be viewed topographically. He says the result of this is that history has been flattened out and therefore seems linear. To illustrate a topographical understanding of temporality Serres gives the example of a crumpled handkerchief:

If you take a handkerchief and spread it out in order to iron it, you can see in it certain fixed distances and proximities. If you sketch a circle in one area, you can mark out nearby points and measure far-off distances. Then take the same handkerchief and crumple it, by putting it in your pocket. Two distant points suddenly are close, even superimposed.<sup>53</sup>

These superimposed points are the convergence of past and present, and even future. Serres argues that the present, therefore, always has within it simultaneously archaic and futuristic moments, and thus 'every historical era is [...] multitemporal.'<sup>54</sup> This crumpling together of the handkerchief is like the action of folding – bringing two distant points together. However, it is important to note that folding (and pleating), bringing these different points in chronology together, is deliberate. Temporality in Fortuny's work has not been incidentally crumpled together, but rather, it was purposely pleated: the disparate eras of visual influence were consciously brought together. This purposeful pleating is like Proust scripting the resurgence of memories throughout his novel, planning where he will press the past onto the present. It is also like the Wagnerian *leitmotiv* where musical themes are repeated to conjure the reappearance of a character or idea.

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<sup>51</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. VI, *Time Regained*. 256-270.

<sup>52</sup> Michel Serres with Bruno Latour. *Conversations on Science, Culture, and Time*. Trans. Roxanne Lapidus. (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press) 1995. 60. I first encountered Serres' analogy in Lynda Nead. *Victorian Babylon: People, Streets and Images in Nineteenth Century London*. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press) 2000.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*

Proust, in his long novel about remembering, utilized Fortuny (his gowns and his name) as a *'leitmotiv'*. After publishing the first volume of *À la recherche du temps perdu*, in 1913, Proust planned to incorporate Fortuny's clothing designs in the later volumes. For more information he wrote to Fortuny's aunt, Maria de Madrazo.<sup>55</sup> Borrowing a famously Wagnerian structural device, Proust explains in a letter to Maria de Madrazo in February 1916 that his novel will contain a 'Fortuny *leitmotiv*' that will be 'sensual, poetic and sorrowful'.<sup>56</sup> Like the Wagnerian *leitmotiv* – the audible cue that resurfaces whenever the listener is meant to recall a reoccurring theme or character – Fortuny gowns cue Proust's narrator to remember and desire Venice. The *leitmotiv*, like the famous madeleine cake dipped in tea, calls forth past events in the work of chronologically folding together the narrative. The *leitmotiv* is, more practically, a strategy for cohesion across Wagner's massive sixteen-hour music-drama (*Der Ring des Nibelungen*) and Proust's seven-volume novel (*À la recherche du temps perdu*).<sup>57</sup> Throughout Fortuny's immense and varied oeuvre, this thesis traces his reoccurring *leitmotifs*: light, shadow, invention, experimentation, revivalism, and Wagnerism.

As Proust's madeleine continues to resurface throughout *À la recherche*, revealing memories kept amidst its 'severe, religious folds',<sup>58</sup> let us briefly unfold the timeline of Fortuny's life through another object as memorial emblem. If we follow Serres' example, Fortuny's geographic biography would have us plot Granada, Rome, Paris, Venice, and Madrid onto the handkerchief. The emblem that holds these latter four cities together is an unfinished portrait of the artist and his sister begun by his father in

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<sup>55</sup> She was also the older sister to Proust's friend Reynaldo Hahn and the stepmother to Proust's friend Frederico (Coco) de Madrazo. For a genealogical diagram see the first page of de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. Proust and Maria de Madrazo also corresponded well before he posed his query about Fortuny's designs. Some of Proust's letters to her, especially while Reynaldo Hahn was off fighting at the beginning of the First World War, are particularly tender. Ed. Marie Riefstahl-Nordlinger. 'Huit lettres inédites à Maria de Madrazo', *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Marcel Proust et des Amis de Combray*. 1953. 23-38.

<sup>56</sup> Marcel Proust. 18 February 1916. Ed. Marie Riefstahl-Nordlinger. 'Huit lettres inédites à Maria de Madrazo', *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Marcel Proust et des Amis de Combray*. 1953. 23-38. 34-35. As quoted and translated by Peter Collier. *Proust and Venice*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 2005. 166 n 11. Also in Jean-Yves Tadié, *Marcel Proust: A Life*. Trans. Euan Cameron. (New York: Penguin) 2000. 636.

<sup>57</sup> Originally *À la recherche du temps perdu* was published in seven volumes, but in English, *In Search of Lost Time* is published in six.

<sup>58</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. I, 63.

the last year of his life. (Plate 9a) (Granada will reappear in its own way in Fortuny's pomegranate patterns, as we shall see in chapter two.)

### **Reappearances of an Unfinished Portrait: Unfolding the Life of Mariano Fortuny**

This unfinished painting continually resurfaces in the photographic archives that document Fortuny's home and family. The painting emerges as an apparition of the simultaneous absence and influence of his father. Like Proustian memory that involuntarily resurfaces and is studied in hindsight, in searching through Fortuny's photographic archive this painting has reappeared as an emblem of memorialisation, loss, and presence. The movement of the painting itself, from Rome to Paris to Venice, and eventually Madrid, enunciates the loci of Fortuny's life.

Of all of his father's pieces that he inherited, it was this unfinished portrait that was most important to Fortuny.<sup>59</sup> The painting of young Fortuny and María Luisa, one of the last by Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (henceforth referred to as Marià or Fortuny y Marsal),<sup>60</sup> hung as a quiet reminder of the presence of the lost father in the family's home in Paris and in the salon of Palazzo Martinengo where the family of three first lived in Venice. Fortuny was photographed sitting with his mother underneath the painting, where years later he would photograph her laid beneath the same painting on her deathbed.<sup>61</sup> The painting is evidence of the presence of the father. It is his gaze that the viewer imitates when looking at the portrait of his children. In the painting, just as in the palazzo, despite his apparent absence, the presence of the father is known and remembered.

Began by Marià in Rome in 1874, the oil painting shows three-year old Fortuny wrapped in an exotically sumptuous blue silk, prefiguring the silk gowns he would become famous for creating thirty years later. (Plate 9b) The bare-chested boy with sun-bleached hair is slumped over in boredom on a long golden divan near his older sister. María Luisa fans herself with a decorated fan as she fully reclines in the Japanese room in their Roman villa. In this home that the Fortunys filled with antiques and curiosities from distant times and far away places, the exotic had been domesticated. Illuminated by the hot Italian summer sun, the colourful Orientalist décor is depicted with loose brushwork.

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<sup>59</sup> Molly Sorkin and Jennifer Park. 'Fortuny y Madrazo: An Artistic Legacy'. *Fortuny y Madrazo: An Artistic Legacy*. 13-26. 22.

<sup>60</sup> He was known and is still referred to as 'Marià' in Spain and Italy.

<sup>61</sup> There are ten of Fortuny's deathbed photographs of his mother in the archives at Palazzo Fortuny: 239-244E. He also made a painting from these photographs.

The elder Fortuny's interest in textiles informed his rendering of the patterned blue folds that envelop his son, his daughter's fluffy white petticoat and pink satin sash, and the pillow on which she rests her head, covered in a fabric the colour of bright red sour cherries.<sup>62</sup>

To be closer to her family following her husband's death, Cecilia moved Mariano and María Luisa to Paris, bringing this 44cm x 93cm canvas with them. The formative years of Fortuny's life were in Paris. Arriving there at the age of three, the age when one acquires language, Fortuny learned French. His 'mother tongue' was determined by the passing of his father. He continued to write in French (though not exclusively) in his personal sketchbooks throughout the rest of his life and doubtless spoke it with his Parisian wife, Henriette.

In Paris, Fortuny began studying painting at the age of seven with his maternal uncle, Raymundo de Madrazo. Cecilia's brother made a career of painting society portraits, and he maintained a circle of Spanish friends in the arts who lived and worked in Paris.<sup>63</sup> It was here that the adolescent Fortuny became close friends with another Spanish painter named Rogelio de Egusquiza, who was also a musician and theatre enthusiast.<sup>64</sup> In a self-reflective typed note, Fortuny claims it was Egusquiza, as a mentor, who had the most profound influence on his initial interest in the theatre.<sup>65</sup> More specifically, it was Egusquiza that initiated Fortuny into his deep and lasting Wagnerism.<sup>66</sup> Though Fortuny's Wagnerian conversion experience was at Bayreuth (as it often was and still is with devotees of the German composer), as an artist living in Paris between 1874-1889, exposure to Wagnerism would have been nearly unavoidable. Charles Baudelaire, an early outspoken fan, wrote rapturous praises of Wagner after attending Parisian debuts in 1860.<sup>67</sup> Exuberant passion for Wagnerian opera grew in

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<sup>62</sup> Marià's interest in textiles (especially foreign costume) is evident not only in his collection of antique fabrics and sketches of the draped clothes and turbans in Northern Africa, but also in his correspondence. See: Davillier. *Life of Fortuny with His Works and Correspondence*.

<sup>63</sup> For more on Raymundo de Madrazo see: Mark A. Roglán. 'José, Federico, and Raimundo de Madrazo: A Dynasty of Art and Leadership in Nineteenth-Century Spain' *Fortuny y Madrazo: An Artistic Legacy*. 81-96.

<sup>64</sup> See also: de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 217, note 17.

<sup>65</sup> This note is held in a notebook in the archive at Museo Fortuny. Quoted by Franzini. 'Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny'. 75.

<sup>66</sup> This is further explored in 'Phantasmagoric Machines'.

<sup>67</sup> See: Dreyfus. *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*. 17-23.

Paris, and in 1885 the *Revue wagnérienne* was founded.<sup>68</sup> Proust, after seeing performances in Paris, would also become an avid Wagnerian.<sup>69</sup> In addition to being inspired by the structural *leitmotiv*, he also directly quoted from *Die Walküre* in a short piece he published in *La Revue blanche* in 1903.<sup>70</sup>

In 1889, Fortuny moved to Venice with his mother and sister, whom he lived with in Palazzo Martinengo, which had excellent views of the Grand Canal through its enormous windows.<sup>71</sup> (Fig. 5) The palazzo was filled with the same tapestries and antiques that had filled their former homes in Rome and Paris. (Fig. 6) While Fortuny used the top floor of this palazzo as a studio and sometimes socialized with other expatriate artists, writers, and intellectuals in the more public salon of the house, Cecilia and María Luisa were less inclined to join in.<sup>72</sup> Among Fortuny's photo archive there are prints of their dulcet, private family life: María Luisa reading in the kitchen, Cecilia in her Spanish costume, alongside pets, coyly smiling at her son.<sup>73</sup> Almost thirty years after Marià began his painting of the children, Fortuny and his widowed mother were photographed sitting with the portrait just above their heads as it was displayed prominently in Palazzo Martinengo. (Fig. 7)

In that home, Fortuny also took photographs of his mother as her hair grew white, wrinkles deeply creased her face, and her teeth were lost. Another thirty years after the last appearance of Marià's painting in the photo archive, Fortuny photographed his mother on the same couch, now turned deathbed, as Cecilia rested beneath her husband's unfinished portrait.

Fortuny lived in Palazzo Martinengo for a decade before moving into his own Palazzo Orfei.<sup>74</sup> During these first ten years in Venice, Fortuny would travel back and

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<sup>68</sup> Franzini. 'Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny'. 75-76.

<sup>69</sup> Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 182-183.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* 165. Proust. 'Mélancolique villégiature de Madame de Breyves' *La Revue blanche*. 15 September 1893. Accessed via Bibliothèque nationale de France. <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k15526f>> 155-170. 164-165. *Die Walküre* is the second opera in Wagner's Ring Cycle. More on Proust, Wagner, and the *leitmotiv* structure in 'Pleated Time'.

<sup>71</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 31-32.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* 31-35. Cecilia calls herself a recluse in an unpublished letter to her brother, Ricardo. Quoted in *Ibid.* 34.

<sup>73</sup> The photo archive at Museo Fortuny is grouped by subject. Cecilia occupies the photographs from #202-244.

<sup>74</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 31-32.

forth to Paris, maintaining a workspace on Rue St. Charles.<sup>75</sup> The young French model Henriette, who was to become Fortuny's wife, moved to join him in Palazzo Orfei, arriving in Venice on the very day in 1902 that its iconic bell tower collapsed into a heap of rubble in front of the entrance to Saint Mark's basilica.<sup>76</sup> This was interpreted as more than mere coincidence by Cecilia, who may have been unconvinced of the match. Here in his own palazzo Fortuny would also hang this unfinished portrait, along with several other objects that served as reminders of his father.

Upon his death in 1949, Fortuny bequeathed the portrait to the Prado Museum in Madrid. The painting is there today along with several other works by Marià. Though Fortuny chose to live and work in Venice his entire adult life and was a devoted student of Venetian art, he did consider himself firstly a Spaniard. He titled an undated autobiographical note, written in French – his mother tongue – *Notes biographiques sur Mariano Fortuny y de Madrazo, peintre espagnol*.<sup>77</sup> Fortuny's Spanish identity was inherited, whereas his Frenchness was naturally acquired, and his Venetian characteristics lovingly adopted. His Catalanian father, who also chose to reside in Italy, was described very similarly in a posthumous auction catalogue: '[...] so he travelled to Spain, his native country, Italy, his adopted country, and came to France and passed straight through [...]'.<sup>78</sup> Fortuny's maternal grandfather and great-grandfather were both directors at the Prado, where the unfinished work is currently housed.<sup>79</sup> That the final home of this portrait is in Madrid speaks to the importance of Fortuny's Spanish legacy.

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<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.* 72-75.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.* 44.

<sup>77</sup> 'Biographical Notes on Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo, Spanish Painter'. Fortuny. Il Fondo Mariutti Fortuny at Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice.

<sup>78</sup> Edouard de Beaumont, Auguste Dupont-Auberville and Jean-Charles Davilier. *Atelier de Fortuny: ouvre posthume, objets d'art et de curiosité, armes, faïences hispano-moresques, étoffes et broderies, bronzes orientaux, coffets d'ivoire, etc... dont la vente aura lieu les 26 avril et jours suivants...* (Paris: de J. Claye, 1875), Viewed August 2013. Bibliothèque nationale de France, YD-1 (1875-04-26)-8.

<<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k6364668g>>. My translation.

<sup>79</sup> Federico de Madrazo (1815-1894) and José de Madrazo (1781-1859), respectively. Molly Sorkin and Jennifer Park. 'Fortuny y Madrazo: An Artistic Legacy'. *Fortuny y Madrazo: An Artistic Legacy*. 13-26. 22.

## On Translating Fortuny<sup>80</sup>

Much of Fortuny's life and art reflected his love of exploring other cultures. After a trans-cultural upbringing, Fortuny continued to travel throughout Italy, France, Switzerland, Germany, Greece and Egypt with his wife, and to collect objects from farther abroad. Though his influences were extremely broad, both geographically and temporally, Fortuny closely studied specific designs through the utilization of his own collection of inherited objects as well as his library of images. His designs reflect a careful study of forms and patterns from North Africa, Moorish Spain, and the Middle and Far East. Fortuny's integration of Eastern and Western visual forms, the convergence of cultures represented in his clothing designs, mirror the city of Venice itself.<sup>81</sup>

Like his parents', Fortuny's ties to various nations can also be examined through the modifications and alterations of their names in the various languages of the places they lived. In Italy, Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo is usually referred to as simply 'Mariano Fortuny'. The 'y Madrazo' that comprises his full name according to Spanish custom is typically omitted. His home-turned-museum is known as 'Palazzo Fortuny' and he himself named his commercial textile operation 'Società Anonima Fortuny', which is now known as 'Fortuny, Inc.'. For Proust, the name 'Fortuny' was enough to conjure Venice at its most idealized. French poet Henri Régnier (1864-1936), who was hosted by Fortuny during his visit to Venice, described the artist as being 'Venetian at heart. He loves Venice and knows all of the arts.'<sup>82</sup>

A recent exhibition at the Queen Sofía Spanish Institute in New York, titled 'Fortuny y Madrazo: An Artistic Legacy', celebrated the Spanish identity of the artist.<sup>83</sup> This exhibition, conceived by the contemporary Dominican-American fashion designer Oscar de la Renta (1932-2014), examined the role of Fortuny's family heritage in the arts. The 'y Madrazo' not only signifies Fortuny's Spanish lineage, but it also differentiates

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<sup>80</sup> This heading is inspired by psychoanalyst Adam Phillips. 'On Translating a Person'. *Promises Promises: Essays on Literature and Psychoanalysis*. (London: Faber and Faber) 2002. 125-147. This section on Fortuny's internationalism/transnationalism also benefits from discussions after presenting 'A Convergence of Cultures: The Clothing Designs of Mariano Fortuny' at *Conflict & Belonging*, Inter-Disciplinary.Net 6<sup>th</sup> Global Conference in Oxford, UK. 16-19 September 2012.

<sup>81</sup> 'Pleated Time' briefly examines Venice as an integral site between East and West.

<sup>82</sup> Henri Régnier. *L'Altana, ou la Vie Vénitienne (1899-1924)*. (Paris: Mercure de France) 1928. 167. Accessed via Bibliothèque nationale de France <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k4113088>>. My translation.

<sup>83</sup> 30 November 2012 – 30 March 2013.

him from his father, Mariano Fortuny y Marsal, who is considered one of the most important painters in the history of Spanish art. ‘Madrazo’ also has the characteristically Spanish soft ‘z’. Cecilia, the name of the mother of Fortuny y Madrazo, is pronounced differently in each language of the three countries in which she lived.<sup>84</sup> In French, ‘Cecilia’ is pronounced mainly as it is in English. In Italian, ‘ce’ and ‘ci’ both carry what is the ‘ch’ sound in English. In Castilian Spanish, the ‘ce’ and ‘ci’ sound like the soft ‘z’ in ‘Madrazo’ that is likened to the English ‘th’.

Part of the task of this thesis is to translate Fortuny more freely, to yield to the fluid borders of the identities that have been ascribed to him. As psychoanalyst Adam Phillips says in ‘On Translating a Person’, you cannot translate a person like a text, as if there is some original, *ur-text*.<sup>85</sup> There is no singular origin text of a person. The synchronisation of Fortuny’s Venetian identity, for which he (or the idea of him) is so beloved by Proust, rubs against and overlaps with the Frenchness of Fortuny (his fifteen formative years in Paris, his French wife, his French mother-tongue). His inherited Spanish identity, which he claimed for himself in his autobiographical notes, shows itself occasionally in the patterns he created. Fortuny was appointed as an honorary Spanish consul during the First World War, throughout which he remained in Venice, and his palazzo was officially declared neutral ground.<sup>86</sup>

In addition to these readings of his national identity, most scholarship on Fortuny approaches singular facets of his work – most often translating him either as a fashion designer or a theatre lighting inventor. In theatre studies, Fortuny’s work is often an understated addendum in the history of electric lighting innovations or Wagnerian stage design, usually grouped with the Swiss lighting reformer Adolphe Appia, whom he worked with for a short period of time. The most comprehensive examination of his theatrical work is Giovanni Isgrò’s *Fortuny e il teatro* (1986).<sup>87</sup> Recently in Italian scholarship there has been a renewal of interest in Fortuny’s theatre lighting designs, as evidenced by the three-day conference ‘*La Scena di Mariano Fortuny*’ held 21-23 November 2013 in Venice/Padua and a forthcoming book on Fortuny by historian of

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<sup>84</sup> This was brought to my attention by a fellow presenter and native Spanish speaker, Mateo Ballester Rodríguez, at the ‘Inter-disciplinary.net 6<sup>th</sup> Global Conference: Multicultural Conflict and Belonging’.

<sup>85</sup> Adam Phillips. ‘On Translating a Person’. 147.

<sup>86</sup> de Osmá. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 143.

<sup>87</sup> Giovanni Isgrò. *Fortuny e il teatro*. (Palermo: Novecento) 1986.



theatre design Marzia Maino (University of Padova).<sup>88</sup> Fortuny's stage inventions, particularly as they applied to Wagnerian opera, have also been examined in Brandin Barón-Nusbaum's 'Forgotten Wizard: The Scenographic Innovations of Mariano Fortuny' and more briefly in Patrick Carnegy's *Wagner and the Art of Theatre*.<sup>89</sup>

In broad surveys of fashion, Fortuny is often linked with Paul Poiret, whose Orientalist designs were popular in early 20th-century Paris. A book published in French as *Fortuny: un magicien de Venise* (2000) and English as *Fortuny: The Magician of Venice* (2001) by Anne-Marie Deschodt and Doretta Davanzo Poli devotes singular attention to Fortuny's fashion and textiles. The book is divided in halves: Deschodt's 'The Magician of Venice' section is broad and anecdotal, while Poli's 'Textiles and Clothes' reveals her expertise in the history of Venetian textiles.<sup>90</sup> Poli has also edited volumes on Fortuny's antique fabric collection.<sup>91</sup> Delphine Desveaux has written a small book, published in French and English in 1998; a 'fashion memoir' that illustrates Fortuny's fashion designs and gives general biographical information.<sup>92</sup>

Guillermo de Osma's biography of Fortuny, published in English (1980), Spanish (1980), and German (1994) stands as the essential introductory guide to Fortuny, presenting a broad overview of his work across all media that is grounded in biographical narrative.<sup>93</sup> De Osma revised and added to this work to create *Mariano Fortuny: arte, ciencia y diseño* in 2012.<sup>94</sup> In the preface to this newer book, he says it is only fitting to be publishing the volume in the language of the artist's native country. This new Spanish edition, along with de Osma's involvement in the exhibition at the Queen Sofía Spanish Institute in New York, show his dedication to the Spanish facet of Fortuny's identity.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> I am grateful to Cristina da Roit at Museo Fortuny for keeping me abreast of these new developments.

<sup>89</sup> Barón-Nusbaum's 'Forgotten Wizard: The Scenographic Innovations of Mariano Fortuny'; Carnegy. *Wagner and the Art of Theatre*.

<sup>90</sup> Anne-Marie Deschodt and Doretta Davanzo Poli. *Fortuny: The Magician of Venice*.

<sup>91</sup> Doretta Davanzo Poli. *Seta & Oro: la collezione tessile di Mariano Fortuny*. with Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Venezia: Arsenale editrice) 1997. Doretta Davanzo Poli. *I Tessili Fortuny di Oriente e Occidente*. (Venezia: Fondazione di Venezia; Torino: Umberto Allemandi & Co.) 2008.

<sup>92</sup> Delphine Desveaux. *Fortuny*. (London: Thames and Hudson). 1998.

<sup>93</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.

<sup>94</sup> Published by Ollero y Ramos.

<sup>95</sup> *Fortuny y Madrazo: An Artistic Legacy*.

De Osma, in his small book *Fortuny, Proust, y los Ballets Rusos* (2010), identifies appearances of Fortuny gowns in passages in Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu*.<sup>96</sup> Peter Collier, Christie McDonald, and Gabrielle Townsend also write on appearances of Fortuny in the French novel, but from within projects decidedly more centred on Proust.<sup>97</sup> 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' shows a resonance between Proust and Fortuny beyond direct mentions of the artist in the novel. This thesis expands outward to compare the curious temporalities and working methods of Proust and Fortuny – how both used their collections as catalysts for creating works full of memory.

Catalogue essays from exhibitions staged at Palazzo Fortuny have also examined different aspects of Fortuny's work though, as according with the exhibitions, the works across different media are usually segregated: individual exhibitions of his photographs or his clothing designs.<sup>98</sup> One notable exception is the exhibition on Fortuny's Wagnerism at Palazzo Fortuny where drawings, etchings, paintings, theatre models, and notebooks were all displayed together.<sup>99</sup> Overall, research on Fortuny has tended to centre on his biography or to exist in small pockets in the huge bodies of scholarship on Proust and Wagner. 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' benefits from the existing foundational research on Fortuny and, in addition to bringing to light new archival evidence and materials, builds towards a deeper analysis of the themes that permeate the entirety of his oeuvre.

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<sup>96</sup> Guillermo de Osma. *Fortuny, Proust, y los Ballets Rusos*. (Barcelona: Editorial Elba). 2010. In his preface to this text, de Osma notes the relative lack of scholarship on the intersection of Fortuny, Proust, and the Ballets Russes. De Osma also points out errors in writing on Fortuny made by Proust scholars Peter Collier (*Proust in Venice*) and Georges Painter (*Marcel Proust: A Biography*) citing how both have mistaken his familial relations. Another mistake having to do with Fortuny in Proust scholarship that de Osma does not identify is that Tadié calls Federico [Coco] de Madrazo, who is Fortuny's cousin (son of Raymundo), his brother-in-law, in *Marcel Proust*. 365 Footnote (denoted by \*). In *Fortuny: The Magician of Venice* Coco de Madrazo is also mistaken for Fortuny himself by Deschodt in a photo taken by Paul Nadar.

<sup>97</sup> Peter Collier. *Proust and Venice*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 2005. First English edition 1990; published first in Italian as *Mosaici Proustiani: Venezia nella Recherche*. Bologna: Il Mulino. 1986. Christie McDonald. Chapter 6 'The Proustian Fabric'. in *The Proustian Fabric: associations of memory*. (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press) 1991. 132-154. Gabrielle Townsend. 'The reproduction of art'. *Proust's Imaginary Museum: Reproductions and Reproductions in À la Recherche Du Temps Perdu*. (Bern and Oxford: Peter Lang) 2008. 40-86.

<sup>98</sup> See Footnote 44 in Introduction.

<sup>99</sup> *Fortuny e Wagner: Il wagnerismo nelle arti visive in Italia*.

## Other Magicians

As ‘Reviving Fortuny’s Phantasmagorias’ was being written, 2013 happened to be an anniversary year for Richard Wagner (1813-1883), Marcel Proust (1871-1922), and Gabriele D’Annunzio (1863-1938) – all figures that intersect Fortuny’s life and work, and all of whom have been called magicians. Friedrich Nietzsche called Wagner a ‘sorcerer’ when he recounted what he saw as the corrupting spells the decadent composer seemed to put on audiences.<sup>100</sup> Proust was affectionately called ‘the magician’ by his housekeeper, Céleste Albaret, after learning a few amateur conjuring tricks.<sup>101</sup> Italian art historian Angelo Conti called D’Annunzio a ‘magician of style and speech’,<sup>102</sup> a fitting description of the poet who used rhetoric to inspire ruthless devotion to the nationalist Italian agenda at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

2013 was the bicentennial of Wagner’s birth, the centennial anniversary of the publication of Proust’s first volume of *À la recherche du temps perdu*, and the 150<sup>th</sup> birthday of D’Annunzio. These anniversaries resulted in a number of new performances, publications, conferences, and academic events that aided the research for this project on Fortuny.<sup>103</sup>

Here in the introduction, it will be helpful to briefly but clearly outline the extent of Fortuny’s contact with each of these three men (and with Italian Fascism) before moving on to a more subtle analysis in subsequent chapters. With the exception of Claudio Franzini’s scrupulous writing, existing scholarship on Fortuny does not transparently enunciate these relationships. Based on archival details from an array of sources, the aim here is to give clarity to material facts that have been overlooked.

As previously mentioned, Fortuny was introduced to Wagner’s works by Egusquiza in Paris as a teenager. His Wagnerism was consummated upon his first trip to

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<sup>100</sup> Barry Millington. *Richard Wagner: The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. (London: Thames and Hudson) 2012. 6 referencing Nietzsche’s *Ecce Homo*, where he uses the term ‘Zauberer’ toward the end of the first postscript.

<sup>101</sup> Céleste Albaret. *Monsieur Proust*. Trans. Barbara Bray. (New York: New York Review of Books) 2003. 8 referenced in: Diana Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior: Four Writers and the Rooms That Shaped Them*. (New York & London: Routledge) 2004. 250 Endnote 88. Also see ‘Secret Spaces’ 88.

<sup>102</sup> Franzini. ‘Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny’. 77. My translation.

<sup>103</sup> For an overview of emerging Wagner scholarship see: Michael Allis’ Introduction to the special issue, ‘Wagner and Literature: New Directions’ in *Forum for Modern Language Studies*. Vol. 50, No.4. (2014) 372-379.

the Bayreuth Festival in 1891.<sup>104</sup> The next year, Fortuny was introduced to Wagner's widow, Cosima, who had taken over the running of the festival.<sup>105</sup> Wagner himself died in 1883 in Venice, six years before Fortuny would move to the same island as an eighteen-year old. Wagner, inspired by the Greek festivals of dramatic arts, had conceived of the Bayreuth Festival as the ideal situation for immersion in the total artwork.<sup>106</sup> Inspired by democratic ideals, he also intended the performances to be open to all societal classes, not just the wealthy.<sup>107</sup> Wagner advocates looking to the past – specifically to Hellenic culture – even in his *The Art-Work of the Future*: ‘[...] – let us look far hence to glorious Grecian Art, and gather from its inner understanding the outlines for the Art-work of the Future!’<sup>108</sup> In addition to looking to the past for the outlining principles of his theoretical framework, Wagner also looked to Medieval legends as source material for his operas.<sup>109</sup> Wagner himself was a revivalist.

Fortuny read and studied Wagner's stage directions and depicted several Wagnerian scenes in etchings, drawings, murals, and paintings. Inspired by the poor execution of the opening scene of *Das Rheingold*, Fortuny began experimenting with indirect lighting and how it could be used to better fulfil Wagner's stage directions.<sup>110</sup> In 1901, Fortuny produced the lighting for *Tristan und Isolde*, conducted by Arturo Toscanini at La Scala in Milan. Though this was still an early version of his indirect stage lighting system, the design was viewed as a remarkable achievement. Wagner's son Siegfried was in attendance on 12 January and thought so highly of the performance – particularly the lighting design – that his mother Cosima, upon hearing her son's opinion, wrote to Toscanini to send her compliments, specifically lauding Fortuny.<sup>111</sup> (Cosima

<sup>104</sup> Franzini. ‘Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny’. 71.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.* See also: Barón-Nusbaum's ‘Forgotten Wizard’. 77.

<sup>106</sup> Millington. *Richard Wagner: The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. 90.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> Richard Wagner. *The Art-Work of the Future*. Trans. William Ashton Ellis. Dodo Press. 2008 [1849]. 19.

<sup>109</sup> Millington. *Richard Wagner: The Sorcerer of Bayreuth. op.cit.* 21, 51, 60.

<sup>110</sup> Mariano Fortuny. *Le fond du Rhin*. (undated). Il Fondo Mariutti Fortuny at Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. [M4.4.36]; Mariano Fortuny. *Descriptions et illustrations, no 03*. 13ff at Museo Fortuny, as quoted in: Franzini. ‘Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny’. 77.

<sup>111</sup> Cosima Wagner. *Letter to Arturo Toscanini*. 18 January 1901. Berlin. For sending me a full scan of this letter, my thanks to Kristina Unger, librarian at the Richard Wagner Museum and National Archive at Wahnfried, Bayreuth.

was infamous for not being easily pleased.)<sup>112</sup> The New York Times reported that Siegfried said the performance exceeded even those in Munich and Berlin.<sup>113</sup>

In 1903, Fortuny completed the scale model demonstrating his indirect lighting system and cupola fitted for the Bayreuth Theatre. In 1907, the mobile inflatable version of his cupola was installed for a production of *Tristan und Isolde* at the Kroll Theatre in Berlin.<sup>114</sup> The folding, wire-frame version of his dome was installed at La Scala in 1922 for a production of Wagner's *Parsifal*.<sup>115</sup> Fortuny also staged *Die Meistersinger* in Rome in 1931.<sup>116</sup> Though he designed lighting and sets for several other productions throughout his career, it was Wagnerian opera that first inspired his vision to create an indirect system of lighting that could produce visual scenery able to change in time with the music.

While it is more easily accepted that Fortuny and Wagner never met (the German composer died when the artist was a twelve-year-old in Paris), there has been some contention over a supposed meeting of Proust and Fortuny. If indeed Proust had met Fortuny, as suggested by Paul Morand's reflections in *Venises*, it perhaps was while Reynaldo Hahn, brother-in-law to Fortuny's uncle Raymundo and an intimate friend of Proust, was welcomed.<sup>117</sup> Furthermore, as Proust's two visits to Venice were in May and October of 1900<sup>118</sup>, a year after Fortuny purchased his own palazzo, perhaps they met at Palazzo Orfei, where Hahn and his British cousin Marie Nordlinger are purported to have

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<sup>112</sup> See: Millington. 'The Silent Sufferer: Cosima Wagner'. *Richard Wagner: The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. 202-213.

<sup>113</sup> 'Review of Performance of Puccini's "Tosca" at the Metropolitan Opera House'. *The New York Times*. Sunday 10 February 1901. 20. Accessed via: <<http://www.newspapers.com/newspage/20492941/>>

<sup>114</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 15.

<sup>115</sup> Barón-Nusbaum's 'Forgotten Wizard'. 89.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>117</sup> I am grateful to Claudio Franzini for directing me to Paul Morand's *Venises* for this information, which is often speculated and rarely cited. From the section '1908': 'Proust y avait été reçu, huit ans plus tôt; il avait connu Fortuny; plus tard il devait offrir beaucoup des robes de cet artiste à la Prisonnière; elles sont entrées dans la légende proustienne.' (Paris: Gallimard) 1971. 45. Hahn and Proust were close friends and, at one point, lovers. Tadié traces their affair through extant correspondence, though much was destroyed. *Marcel Proust*. 236-239, 242-243.

<sup>118</sup> Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 363-367, 371-372.

stayed at some point.<sup>119</sup> Even if Proust had met Fortuny in 1900, the latter was not yet producing his fashion designs.

Despite the tenuous evidence of the meeting of Fortuny and Proust in Venice, undeniably Proust knew of Fortuny and his work, as it is written about in *À la recherche du temps perdu* and evidenced by his letters to Fortuny's aunt asking for information about the Venetian gowns.<sup>120</sup> Though Fortuny did not have *À la recherche* in his library, it is more than likely that he, having risen to fame in Paris and opening a shop on the Champs-Élysées concurrent with the publishing of Proust's novel, would have heard of the popular author.<sup>121</sup> Fortuny was related to two of Proust's closest friends, Reynaldo Hahn and Federico [Coco] Madrazo. Coco, a devoted friend of Proust's,<sup>122</sup> was Fortuny's cousin – the son of Raymundo, who taught him painting in Paris. (Fig. 8) And Hahn, who was Coco's step-mother's brother, published journal fragments from his time in Venice, in which he mentions visiting Fortuny at his palazzo.<sup>123</sup>

Gabriele D'Annunzio, an Italian poet and formative figure in proto-Fascist ideology, was a friend of Fortuny's. In the lush, sensual prose of his *Forse che sì, Forse che no*, D'Annunzio describes his female lead wearing a gown made by Fortuny:

She was enveloped in one of those long, Oriental gauze scarves that the alchemist dyer Mariano Fortuny plunges into the mysterious potions of his caldrons, stirring them with a wooden stick, [...], where he

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<sup>119</sup> Tadié presumes this based on Marie Nordlinger's correspondence to Maria de Madrazo (wife of Fortuny's maternal uncle Raymundo de Madrazo): Marie Nordlinger. *Lettres à une amie*. Éditions du Calame. Manchester, 1942. ix and 'Eight unpublished letters to Maria de Madrazo introduced by Marie Riefstahl-Nordlinger.' *Bulletin de la Société des amis de Marcel Proust*. No. 3, 1953. 36: Referenced in Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 365; footnote 97, 853.

<sup>120</sup> On this meeting, in his biography of Fortuny, de Osma states that there is 'no definite evidence to confirm their meeting.' *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 131. de Osma repeats this point in *Fortuny, Proust, y los Ballets Rusos*. 30. For Proust's research on Fortuny see: Collier. *Proust in Venice*. 166 footnote 11; 167 footnote 19; and de Osma. *Fortuny, Proust, y los Ballets Rusos*. 33-44.

<sup>121</sup> Fortuny's preserved library at the Palazzo Fortuny does not contain a copy of *À la recherche du temps perdu*. This was confirmed to me by Claudio Franzini, director of the archives at Palazzo Fortuny.

<sup>122</sup> Albaret. *Monsieur Proust*. 229-230. For a genealogical diagram see the first page of de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.

<sup>123</sup> Reynaldo Hahn. part II, 'Rome, Venise, Londres, Bucarest, Berlin'. *Notes: Journal d'un musicien*. (Paris: Plon) 1933. transcribed and digitized by Association Reynaldo Hahn.

<<http://reynaldo-hahn.net/Textes/RH/journal3venise.htm#2>> Hahn's time in Fortuny's Palazzo is further described in 'Phantasmagoric Machines' 145.

obtains colours from strange dreams and later prints them with his thousands of new generations of stars, plants and animals.<sup>124</sup>

Fortuny's Wagner-inspired Romantic naturalism closely resembled the aesthetics of his friend and fellow Wagnerian, Gabriele D'Annunzio. Fortuny collaborated with D'Annunzio and actress Eleonora Duse on plans for a National Theatre.<sup>125</sup> Duse, one of D'Annunzio's many lovers, was also friends with Isadora Duncan, who famously revived Greek dance while wearing Fortuny's creations.<sup>126</sup> (Figs. 9, 10) Duse also shared the desire to revive classical Greek style. She passionately proclaimed to her friends, 'I have a deeply sincere faith in the inevitable return to the beautiful Greek works'.<sup>127</sup>

It was in the vein of this sentiment that Fortuny, D'Annunzio, and architect Lucien Hesse dreamed up the *Teatro della Feste* [Festival Theatre] in the summer of 1912 as they all met together in Paris.<sup>128</sup> The project, which eventually only resulted in the production of a small-scale model in Fortuny's Venetian palazzo, was never realized because on the day when contracts were supposed to be signed they found D'Annunzio had disappeared, fleeing his creditors. The model of the proposed project is still in Museo Fortuny, and was installed with Fortuny's indirect lighting system.<sup>129</sup> (Figs. 11-13) The architectural design was based on an open-air Greek theatre with a large, removable covering and the structure was designed to hold 3,000 visitors.<sup>130</sup> The theatre's decoration and sculpture programme are all strictly neo-classical. The design of this theatre echoed the Ancient Classical culture it was intended to re-invent: a theatre open for all. For Fortuny, this would have been further in line with Wagner's wish to return to Hellenic culture, as he outlined in *The Art-Work of The Future*.

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<sup>124</sup> Gabriele D'Annunzio. *Forse che sì Forse che no*. (Milano: Presso I Fratelli Treves) 1910. 269. My translation. Accessed via Internet Archive.

<<https://archive.org/details/forsechesforse00dannoft>>

<sup>125</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 70, 74.

<sup>126</sup> Amongst other Greek revivalist garments as well. *Ibid.* 94. See: Jeanne Bordeaux. *Eleonora Duse: The Story of Her Life*. (London: Hutchinson & Co.) 1924.

<sup>127</sup> Bordeaux. *Ibid.* 125.

<sup>128</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 31.

<sup>129</sup> This model was also recently restored by Francesco Rado, who restored the Bayreuth Model.

<sup>130</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 31.

In his private life, as evidenced through personal correspondence, Fortuny would eventually disassociate himself from D'Annunzio.<sup>131</sup> In a letter dated 12 May 1930, D'Annunzio wrote to his 'Marianaccio' in large script, 'Are you not ashamed of having abandoned and forgotten your faithful art companion?'<sup>132</sup> This letter's envelope was closed with a bronze-coloured seal bearing the image of raised daggers and the Latin phrase '*hic manebimus optime*' meaning, 'Here we will stay, pleasantly'. This motto was a rallying cry for D'Annunzio's rogue mission to the Fiume territory in 1919, which cemented his position as a radical Italian nationalist and a foundational figure in Italian Fascism.

Due to the reign of the Fascist party in Italy lasting twenty-years (1922-43), commonly referred to as *il ventennio*, individual opinions had time to evolve; one's point of view was unlikely to remain static.<sup>133</sup> For most citizens there was a divide between public behaviour and private thinking. Institutionalized ideology of the totalitarian regime led to private dissention, yet public consent, often in the form of state-sponsored parades and celebrations.<sup>134</sup> Citizens learned to navigate the system in attempts to secure their own economic well-being. Public consent ranged from collaboration and complicity, to coercion. Nuances in Fortuny's own relationship to the Fascist party have, in existing scholarship, been simplified to say that he was apolitical, or maintained no interest in politics.<sup>135</sup> Though attempting to discover or expose Fortuny's political motives is not an aim of this thesis, it is, however, helpful to consider how his public or known relationships with the regime might contrast his private thoughts.

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<sup>131</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 143. This can also be inferred through the letters from D'Annunzio, archived in Il Fondo Mariutti Fortuny in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. [M7.6-15].

<sup>132</sup> [M7.6.15] My translation. D'Annunzio's letters reflect an intimacy that may have had slightly more to do with the passionate poet's personality than the nature of the friendship.

<sup>133</sup> I am grateful to Paul Corner, Professor of History at University of Siena, for his lectures on Italian Fascism given 20 March 2014 at The University of Manchester, and the subsequent discussion. His presentation of the historiography of this time period and his aim to study individual persons through material conditions inside of this collective ideology has been helpful in my thinking on Fortuny.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.* See also Claudio Fogu. *The Historic Imaginary: Politics of History in Fascist Italy*. (Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press.) 2003.

<sup>135</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. This is also a repeated idea at Museo Fortuny.



In seeking to cultivate and celebrate ‘Italianness’, the Fascist party in Italy provided many opportunities in fine arts, film, fashion, and theatre.<sup>136</sup> At his most actively collaborative, in 1929 Fortuny created the *Carro di Tespi* – a mobile theatre for the state-sponsored initiative to make the arts more accessible.<sup>137</sup> The desire to acculturate the masses was a utopic idea that Wagner himself shared, however, this aspiration also affords an opportunity to manufacture and perpetuate state-sponsored totalitarian ideology. At the debut of his *Carro di Tespi* in Rome, Fortuny himself was judged as an outsider when Mussolini turned to glare at the man speaking French to his wife during this nationalistic celebration, sponsored by the Fascist Ministry of Culture.<sup>138</sup>

Fortuny’s business suffered under the Fascist party’s prohibition of imported goods, especially the raw materials needed for his upholstery and fashion designs. To decrease reliance on foreign nations, the regime placed several bans on importing goods and developed autarchic policies to further Italy’s self-sufficiency.<sup>139</sup> This led designers with the same agenda, most notably the Futurists, to embrace newly manufactured synthetics and to condemn the use of more luxurious imported fabrics.<sup>140</sup>

Fortuny experienced great difficulty with these embargoes, as his silk was imported from China and Japan and he used velvet from France and England for his clothing designs, Egyptian cotton for his textiles, and the natural ingredients for his dyes came from a very wide array of places.<sup>141</sup> In the early to mid-1930s, the flagging economy and the prohibition of imports (along with the detriment of an employee embezzling from his factory operation) put Fortuny close to financial ruin.<sup>142</sup>

Just before the 1936 Italian ruling against the import of raw materials, Fortuny ordered fifty lengths of silk from Japan that, because of timing, were intercepted and held by the Italian government.<sup>143</sup> He worked out a plan with Countess Gozzi (a business

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<sup>136</sup> See: Fogu. *The Historic Imaginary*

<sup>137</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 167-169. Held in the Il Fondo Mariutti Fortuny archive, letters detailing the payments for this work on theatre initiatives lack any information on the ideological strategy of the project, but rather are more like purchasing orders. There is also an archived album for the *Carro di Tespi* project at Museo Fortuny, compiled by Fortuny and Henriette.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.* 169.

<sup>139</sup> Introduction. *Fashion in the Time of Fascism*. 12.

<sup>140</sup> Emily Braun. ‘Futurist Fashion: Three Manifestoes.’ *Art Journal*, College Art Association, 54, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 34-41.

<sup>141</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 110, 119, 147, 179-181.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.* 174-181.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.* 179-181.

partner and close friend in New York who would eventually take over his company after his death) to immediately ship the silk fabric to the US and then have her send it back to him later with a note to say she was sending the silk material for dresses specifically commissioned by her.<sup>144</sup> In a letter Fortuny sent to Countess Gozzi on 14 February 1936, he wrote: ‘Without that [silk] I do not know what to do; the Delphos is virtually my only source of income.’<sup>145</sup> He eventually ran out of silk by the summer of 1936 and had to sell a collection of Goya drawings that he inherited from his parents to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (‘something I will regret all my life’ he wrote to Countess Gozzi).<sup>146</sup>

Fortuny, perhaps because of his outsider status as a Spaniard from Paris, did not publically take an active part in Italian politics. However, there are a few short, abstractly constructed handwritten notes on scraps of paper held in the archive *Il Fondo Mariutti Fortuny* where he criticises autarchic policy, the destructive aspirations of the military, and political ambition.<sup>147</sup> In an undated, handwritten note held in these archives, described as ‘*considerazioni antimilitaristiche*’ [anti-military considerations], Fortuny wrote: ‘It is not the war that procures the military. It is the military that procures the war.’<sup>148</sup> Perhaps any dissention Fortuny felt was kept quiet so that patronage for his projects would not be jeopardized. Or, since the dates of these ‘considerations’ are unknown, they could have been written in hindsight, years after collaborating with Mussolini’s cultural initiatives. Other than these sketched thoughts and recorded quotes, there is not much evidence of his private political convictions.

Though Fortuny did stay and work in Venice throughout *il ventennio*, this is not the Venice to which he and his father were drawn, nor the Venice of which his gowns reminds Proust, nor the Venice where Wagner spent his last days. Instead, Fortuny’s work, so often inspired by Wagner, was more akin to the Venice of the previous century.

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<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.* 179-181.

<sup>145</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.* 181.

<sup>146</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.* 183

<sup>147</sup> Various documents. Il Fondo Mariutti, Bibiloteca Nazionale Marciana [M.4.4 folder].

<sup>148</sup> Fortuny. untitled, undated note. M.4.4.19 Il Fondo Mariutti. My translation.

## The *Tristan* Generation in the *Tristan* City

Yes, this was Venice, this the fair frailty that fawned and that betrayed, half fairy-tale, half snare; the city in whose stagnating air the art of painting once put forth so lust a growth, and where musicians were moved to accords so weirdly lulling and lascivious. Our adventurer felt his sense wooed by this voluptuousness of sight and sound, tasted his secret knowledge that the city sickened and hid its sickness for love of gain, and bent an ever more unbridled leer on the gondola that glided on before him.<sup>149</sup> - Thomas Mann, *Death in Venice*.

Thomas Mann calls Venice ‘the *Tristan* city’<sup>150</sup>: an exotic, watery city where love, sensuality, death, and decay invade the senses. Mann, who Fredric Jameson calls, ‘that perfect Wagnerite’, is, of course, referring to Wagner’s opera *Tristan und Isolde*.<sup>151</sup> Wagner wrote *Tristan* from 1857-59, likely inspired by an unconsummated love affair with Mathilde Wesendonck, wife of a wealthy silk merchant who financially supported the composer.<sup>152</sup> Attempting to avoid consequent complications with his first wife Minna, Wagner wrote the second act of *Tristan* whilst away in Venice.<sup>153</sup> The opera itself, like Venice, is decadent, deathly, and watery: musical phrases rise and build in intensity without resolution as lovers breathlessly answer one another; a murderous poison has been switched with a love potion, yet it still concludes with the deaths of both Tristan and Isolde; the opera begins on a ship in the sea and ends on the shore watching for a ship. In the program notes for the Paris concerts of *Tristan* (1860), Wagner describes the music-drama as a ‘sea of unending sexual bliss’.<sup>154</sup> Like Baudelaire who described listening to Wagner’s music as ‘riding the waves...’,<sup>155</sup> other writers describe the aural sensuality of *Tristan* in watery terms: the rhythm of ebb and flow; rivers that rumble, lap, boil over, broaden; rushing, roaring torrents...<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> *Death in Venice, Tristan, Tonio Kröger*. Trans. H.T. Lowe-Porter. Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1928. 63.

<sup>150</sup> Mann. ‘Sufferings and Greatness of Richard Wagner.’ *Essays of Three Decades*. 351. [written in 1933] I am grateful to Arne Stollberg and Gregor Herzfeld for discussions on Wagner’s influence on Mann.

<sup>151</sup> Fredric Jameson. ‘Wagner as Dramatist and Allegorist’. *Modernist Cultures*. 8:1, Edinburgh University Press (2013): 9-41. 19. More on *Tristan and Isolde* in ‘*Tessuti*’.

<sup>152</sup> Barry Millington. *The New Grove Guide to Wagner and His Operas*. (New York: Oxford University Press) 2006. 21 and Millington. *Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. 127, 144.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>154</sup> Richard Wagner. *Dichtungen und Schriften: Jubiläumsausgabe*. Ed Dieter Borchmeyer, 10 vols. (Bayreuth, 1983) IV, 104-105; quoted in Dreyfus. *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*. 103.

<sup>155</sup> Quoted in Dreyfus. *Ibid.* 19, 18-19.

<sup>156</sup> See especially, Édouard Schuré. *Le Drame Musical*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1875), vol. 2, 224-225, 226; quoted in Dreyfus. *Ibid.* 28.

Desire and death meet most pointedly in Venice in the ending of *Tristan* with Isolde's *Liebestod* (literally translated as 'love-death'), which completes the lovers' joint suicide.<sup>157</sup> Isolde's oceanic death scene at the end of Act III is one of the most explicitly synaesthetic lyric passages of Wagner's music-dramas. The Schopenhauerian bliss of the impending fulfilment of her suicide pact floods Isolde's senses. Hallucinating an image of her Tristan, she describes feeling his breath and smelling it as perfume; wanting to drink it in, to swim in it.

How in tender bliss sweet breath gently wafts from his lips-  
 Friends! Look!  
 Do you not feel and see it?  
 Do I alone hear this melody so wondrously and gently  
 sounding from within him,  
 in bliss lamenting, all-expressing, gently reconciling, piercing  
 me, soaring aloft,  
 its sweet echoes resounding about me?  
 Are they gentle aerial waves ringing out clearly, surging  
 around me?  
 Are they billows of blissful fragrance?  
 As they seethe and roar about me, shall I breathe, shall I give  
 ear?  
 Shall I drink of them, plunge beneath them?  
 Breathe my life away in sweet scents?  
 In the heaving swell, in the resounding echoes, in the  
 universal stream  
 of the world-breath -  
 to drown, to founder - unconscious - utmost rapture!<sup>158</sup>

The strange mixture of erotically charged love and death pervades the senses, engulfing Isolde. Similarly, for Mann and for Proust, Venice represents sensorial, simultaneous death and desire. In *Death in Venice* (1912), Mann traces the route of the Asiatic cholera epidemic into Italy<sup>159</sup> – the same disease that prevented Fortuny's father from going to Venice before his premature death.<sup>160</sup> The symptoms of Venetian cholera

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<sup>157</sup> Wagner originally referred to Isolde's Act III aria as 'the Transfiguration', but even from the opera's early days it has been known as the '*Liebestod*'. The composer used '*Liebestod*' to refer to the Prelude of *Tristan and Isolde*, where, beginning with the enigmatic 'Tristan chord', the sustained theme of 'love-death' would be introduced. Millington. *The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. 172.

<sup>158</sup> *Tristan und Isolde*. Act III, Scene III.

<sup>159</sup> Mann. *Death in Venice*. 71-73.

<sup>160</sup> 'My Dear Friend: [...] the cholera is at Venice. Here is the Official Bulletin of to-day. I cannot then suppose the report not true. Notwithstanding the pleasure I promised myself in spending the summer with you, I believe it would be better to postpone our project for the present.' Fortuny. Letter to Baron Daviller. 12 July 1873. Rome. Daviller. *Life of Fortuny with His Works and Correspondence*. 135-136.

that the troubled protagonist Aschenbach contracts mirror the feverish desire that drives his mad chase after a beautiful, young boy (Tadzio) as if ‘guided by [a] daemonic power’ – desire and illness are intertwined on the Italian island.<sup>161</sup> Similarly, longing sours into sickness in volume I of Proust’s *À la recherche* when the boy narrator becomes over-excited at the prospect of visiting Venice, thereby preventing his trip due to his own desire-induced illness. When the narrator finally takes his much-delayed holiday in Venice in volume V, he is overcoming his grief for ex-lover Albertine, whom he believes to have died after she left him. These amorous obsessions – the narrator and Albertine, Aschenbach and Tadzio, Tristan and Isolde – following Wagner’s Schopenhauerianism, are so desirous that the only solution is annihilation. These are deadly desires, love-deaths.

Though Goethe famously called Italy ‘*das Land, wo die Zitroenen blühn*’ (‘the land where the lemon trees bloom’),<sup>162</sup> Mann describes Venice as ‘foul-smelling’.<sup>163</sup> This lush land of lemon trees and gentle breezes is what Wagner would conjure in many of his operas. The wafting air in Venice that Mann describes, however, is one that carries the

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<sup>161</sup> Mann. *Death in Venice*. 62.

<sup>162</sup> *Kennst du das Land, wo die Zitroenen blühn,  
In dunkelm Land die Gold-orangen glühn,  
Ein sanfter Wind vom blauen Himmel weht,  
Die myrtle still und hoch der Lorbeer steht?  
Kennst du es wohl? Dahin! Dahin!  
Möcht’ich mit dir, o mein Geliebter, ziehn.*

Do you know the land where the lemon-trees bloom,  
among dark leaves the golden oranges glow,  
a soft wind wafts from the blue heaven,  
the myrtle stands still and the laurel grows high?  
Do you really know it? – There! there!  
Would I go with you, my beloved.

Excerpt from Mignon’s song in book 3, chapter 1 of Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister*; quoted in: Jack Gottlieb. *Funny, It Doesn’t Sound Jewish: How Yiddish Songs and Synagogue Melodies Influenced Tin Pan Alley, Broadway, and Hollywood*. (New York: SUNY Press) 2004. 169); Judith Ryan. *The Cambridge Introduction to German Poetry*. (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press) 2012. 83-85. I have edited the English translations referenced from Gottlieb and Ryan. This popular passage, often referred to as ‘*Kennst du das Land*’ (‘Do you know the land’), was set to music by several eminent German composers. Gottlieb references an article in *The Boston Globe* by Richard Buell who says that ‘*Kennst du das Land*’ is ‘as familiar to German speakers, as, say Shakespeare’s “To be or not to be” from *Hamlet* is to Anglophones.’ 29 March, 1999.

<sup>163</sup> Mann. *Death in Venice*. 40.

smell of decay: ‘a sweetish, medicinal smell, associated with wounds and disease and suspect cleanliness.’<sup>164</sup>

Mann, in the same novel, likens the lacquered Venetian gondola to a coffin that gives ‘visions of death itself’,<sup>165</sup> recalling the funerary gondola that carried Wagner’s coffin through Venice after he died there in 1883.<sup>166</sup> Fortuny’s friend and fellow Wagnerite D’Annunzio greatly fictionalizes the composer’s death in Venice in his novel *Il Fuoco* (*The Flame of Life*, 1900), where the semi-autobiographical protagonist helps load the composer’s crystal coffin onto the funeral boat and then onto the train to take the body back to be interred in Wagner’s German fatherland.<sup>167</sup> Proust said that though he wished to return to Venice he could not because, for him, it was a ‘graveyard of happiness’.<sup>168</sup>

Proust’s biographer (Tadié) speaks of a whole generation under the decadent, synaesthetic spell of *Tristan*. While pointing out the likenesses between Mallarmé and Proust, Tadié claims: ‘yet he [Proust] also loved music, sought the essence that lay beneath the appearance and explored the night beyond the day: was not this entire generation imbued with the great duet from Act II of *Tristan and Isolde*?’<sup>169</sup> Like Fortuny who became devoted to Wagner following his experience at Bayreuth, after seeing Wagnerian opera, Proust wrote that it would be his task to translate the Wagnerian *leitmotiv* into the novel.<sup>170</sup> Proust first wrote about *leitmotivs* in a short story ‘Mélancolique villégiature de Madame de Breyves’, published in *La Revue blanche* in 1893, just two months after he saw *Die Walküre* in Paris.<sup>171</sup> In this story there is a repeated musical phrase that reminds the title character of the man she desires, which

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<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.* 59.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.* 25.

<sup>166</sup> Millington. ‘Death in Venice: The Events of Wagner’s Last Days’. *The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. 242-248.

<sup>167</sup> John W. Barker. ‘Gabriele D’Annunzio (1900)’. *Wagner and Venice Fictionalized: Variations on a Theme*. (Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press) 2012. 30-36.

<sup>168</sup> Marcel Proust. Letter to Mme Catusse. May 1906. *Correspondences*. 148; quoted in Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 464. Mme Catusse was Proust’s mother’s closest friend. *Ibid.* 309.

<sup>169</sup> Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 250.

<sup>170</sup> *Marcel Proust. Textes Retrouvés*. Eds. Philip Kolb and Larkin Price. (Paris: Gallimard) 1971. 62; quoted in Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 165, 815.

<sup>171</sup> Proust also quotes directly from *Die Walküre* in this story. Marcel Proust. ‘Mélancolique villégiature de Madame de Breyves’ *La Revue blanche*. 15 September 1893. Accessed via Bibliothèque nationale de France. <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k15526f>> 155-170. 164-165. Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 165, 815 footnote 164.

Proust calls by its Wagner-inspired name: ‘*leitmotiv*’.<sup>172</sup> In *À la recherche du temps perdu*, he utilizes the same idea with Charles Swann and Odette, but does not give away the Wagnerian origin and only refers to it as ‘the little phrase’. Similarly, it is only in his personal correspondence that Proust calls his orchestration of reoccurring appearances of Fortuny a ‘*leitmotiv*’.<sup>173</sup>

Though Fortuny continued working until his death in 1949, long after the reign of Wagnerian decadence, his indebtedness to Wagnerian opera was continuous. Fortuny was part of the generation inspired by *Tristan*, and he worked in the ‘Tristan city’. In ‘Reviving Fortuny’s Phantasmagorias’, Chapter 1, ‘Secret Spaces of Palazzo Orfei’, looks more specifically at where Fortuny worked in Venice and how his childhood home in Rome, filled with the antique collection of his parents that he would later inherit, influenced his work. Akin to the bourgeois 19<sup>th</sup>-century interiors described by Walter Benjamin, this chapter argues that Palazzo Orfei was/is a phantasmagoric space. The exotic antiques that filled Palazzo Orfei were catalysts for his work, references for his revival of historic design. Fortuny’s palazzo was a site of magical multiplication. Each creation seems to have multiple lives. Utilizing Gaston Bachelard’s reading of space, this chapter examines how both of Fortuny’s workspaces were organized around the spatialized relationship of secrecy and shadows and openness and illumination. Starting from the ground floor and working upwards through his reception rooms, studio, library, fashion studio, darkroom, and attic, ‘Secret Spaces’ find congruencies between Fortuny’s object-filled workspaces, his father’s Roman studio, Marcel Proust’s bedroom and Gabriele D’Annunzio’s villa; between Benjamin’s quote collecting, Roland Barthes’ love of fragments, and Fortuny’s immense library of photographic reproductions; between Proust’s narrator’s magic lantern and Fortuny’s slide projector; and between Fortuny’s inverted photographic processes and Proust’s inverted, photographic writing.

The second chapter, ‘Pleated Time: Light and Shadows in Silk and Velvet’, examines the design and production of Fortuny’s silk Delphos gown and velvet cloaks through a close reading of their revivalist style. Inspired by classical Greece and Renaissance Italy, amongst other eras, Fortuny was wildly historic in the way he brought

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<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> Marcel Proust. 18 February 1916. Ed. Marie Riefstahl-Nordlinger. ‘Huit lettres inédites à Maria de Madrazo’, *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de Marcel Proust et des Amis de Combray*. 1953. 23-38. 34-35. As quoted and translated by Peter Collier. *Proust and Venice*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 2005. 166 n 11. Also in Jean-Yves Tadié, *Marcel Proust: A Life*. Trans. Euan Cameron. (New York: Penguin) 2000. 636.

together forms and patterns from disparate times and places. I argue that the pleats of the Delphos gown metaphorically enact Michel Serres' illustration of multitemporality through the crumpled handkerchief as a sort of *pleated time*. This chapter also contains case studies of particular velvets and comparisons with Venetian Renaissance paintings, specifically those of Carpaccio that inspired them. Approaching fashion and textile design through the eyes of a painter, Fortuny's designs were not only inspired by painters of the Renaissance, they were also constructed through the medium of painting.

The themes of temporality, light, and shadow are traced through the appearance and production of these garments as well as Proust's description of them in *À la recherche*, and his use of Fortuny's clothing as emblems of Venice. This chapter also examines Fortuny's fashion designs in context of his contemporaries in early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Italy who embraced the use of newly available synthetics whilst Fortuny only worked in silk, velvet, and cotton. Where the system of fashion embraces a linear chronology that always leans toward the 'new', as argued by Benjamin and Barthes, Fortuny continued to make his patented, historically inspired designs throughout his career. In this way Fortuny's fashion designs recall another metaphor used by Serres to explain the non-linearity of time: that it is fluid yet some bits do not pass, as a substance through a sieve or the eddies of a flowing river. In the chronology of fashion, Fortuny's gowns of liquid-like silk not only pleat together the past and the present, they also are the bits that do not pass, they endure.

'Phantasmagoric Machines', the third chapter, examines how the various machines invented by Fortuny relate to the concept of phantasmagoria as it encompasses the production of illusions, the suppression of time, and the concealment of labour. The chapter is divided into three parts corresponding to the three main areas in which Fortuny invented machinery: textile production, the darkroom, and the theatre. Drawing from Benjamin's and Barthes' writing on fashion, the first section considers how the role of machines is integral to the relationship between fashion and time, both in regards to capitalist production and in conceptual design. Whereas fashion is dependant on forgetting the past to give an appearance of newness, Fortuny's revivalist designs consciously provoke memory. This section also compares the fashion machines that Fortuny invented to perfect revivalist techniques and those of his Futurist contemporaries who aligned themselves with the Fascist project of radical practicality. This same comparison yields another dichotomy in fashion in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century: the machine-made and the hand-made.



The middle section of the third chapter examines the machines in Fortuny's darkroom that he inverted and modified to transform traditional photographic practices. Like the magic lantern shows in dark smoky rooms, Fortuny's darkroom enlargers were engineered to project images, both historic and original negatives, onto large and movable surfaces. These inversions are compared to Proust's writing processes, which, as Brassai argues in *Proust in the Power of Photography*, are photographic. Proust and Fortuny both invert spaces of inside and outside performances, as argued in the beginning of Part III. To more visually approach this idea, comparisons are made to contemporary photographer Abelardo Morell's 'Camera Obscura' series. Proust's théâtrophone, like Fortuny's folding cyclorama theatre that was erected in a Parisian home, brought outside performances into the space of the domestic interior. 'Phantasmagoric Machines' also follows the evolution of Fortuny's folding cycloramas as they came to be installed in avant-garde theatres and used in public squares for theatre initiatives by the Fascist Ministry of Culture.

The last section of Chapter 3 examines the lighting inventions that comprise Fortuny's theatre lighting system that was used to create blue skies, moving clouds, the moon, sunsets and sunrises with light, so that scenery could change in time with music. Fortuny's system was profoundly influenced by Wagnerian opera, and it is Fortuny's model for implementing his system at Wagner's Bayreuth Theatre that most clearly demonstrates the existing machinery for his theatre lighting system. This model, recently restored for the Wagner bicentennial, still showcases the lighting effects that Fortuny designed for the accomplishment of Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk* – a total artwork that would totally encompass the listener/viewer in phantasmagoric illusion completed by the synthesis of sight and sounds and the concealment of the labour of the production. To showcase the most revolutionary dimension of Fortuny's system – its fluid transitions – there is a short film on DVD included.

The fourth chapter, titled '*Tessuti*' which means both tissues (as in sensitized photographic papers) and fabrics in Italian, examines Fortuny's most enigmatic darkroom creations – contact prints made in a secret lightless process. These prints remained hidden in one of his notebooks and unevaluated by scholars. This chapter examines the role of haptics in the production of these photographs made with mounds of fabric to form an abject multiplicity of wrinkles and a confounding suppression of depth. This chapter proposes a hybrid photographic process that Fortuny may have used to create these experimental prints and argues that they were created in a similar way to the folds in

Fortuny's Delphos gown. These photographic fabric folds are compared to Gaëtan Gatian de Clérambault's photographs of veiled figures in North Africa, to contemporary photographs of rags in the streets of Paris, and to Cy Twombly's paint-soaked wads of tissue. *Tessuti* situates these prints as the shadowy abject experiments within Fortuny's gleaming, light-filled oeuvre.

'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' concludes with 'Nothing is New', titled after Fortuny's own statement about his work, revealing his focus on the past. The conclusion of this thesis offers Fortuny's small-scale Wagnerian theatre model as a microcosm of his talents as an inventor, stage designer, photographer, and painter. Indeed, Fortuny himself said that using his theatre lighting system for décor is like painting with light.<sup>174</sup> The chapter then widens to situate Fortuny more broadly within issues surrounding late 19<sup>th</sup>-/ early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Wagnerism and the sensuality of silk by examining more divergent themes that have run throughout 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias': lust for silk in de Clérambault's patients, Émile Zola's *The Ladies Paradise*, and by Wagner himself; Loie Fuller's electrically-lit silk twirling; Fortuny and Proust's portrayal of the Flower Maidens in *Parsifal*; and the duality of disease and desire in Wagner's eroticism.

Drawing on Fortuny's own writings, the conclusion argues that Wagnerian ideals influenced his work across various mediums, facilitated his revivalism, inspired his inventions, and prescribed the phantasmagoric vision through which this thesis interprets his oeuvre.

This thesis argues that Fortuny, as a revivalist, accessed the past through art objects and material visual culture, in his personal collection and from reproductions, to re-create them in the early 20th century. His work is phantasmagoric because of the way it uses light and darkness, shadows and projections, and movement and colour to bring historical images to life, bringing together a multiplicity of times. Though these themes are easily identifiable in Fortuny's work, they have yet to be traced throughout his oeuvre in any major piece of writing.

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<sup>174</sup> Fortuny. *Éclairage Scénique*. 3; quoted in de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 65.

## CHAPTER 1 SECRET SPACES OF PALAZZO ORFEI<sup>1</sup>

Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo lived in Paris from age three, following the premature death of his father who contracted malaria in 1874 whilst on a family holiday in the Italian coastal town of Portici, just south of Naples.<sup>2</sup> In 1889, eighteen-year-old Fortuny moved with his mother Cecilia and sister María Luisa to Palazzo Martinengo in Venice, the city his father had wanted to return to in the last year of his life<sup>3</sup>. Ten years later, Fortuny bought Palazzo Orfei<sup>4</sup> (now known as Palazzo Fortuny) and restored and remodelled it to his own specifications.<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 14) Legend has it that Fortuny first entered the run-down Palazzo Orfei through an upper window into the space just beneath the roof, where he first set up his studio in 1898.<sup>6</sup> The dilapidated middle and lower floors had been converted into cheap apartments and studios for almost 350 people – including photographer Paolo Salviati, who is known for his hand-coloured views of 19<sup>th</sup>-century Venice (Plate 10a, 10b).<sup>7</sup> As tenants moved out, Fortuny eventually acquired the

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Jeremy Tambling for his feedback after reading a very early draft of this chapter. Portions of this chapter were presented in my seminar on collecting for ‘The Afterlives of Objects: Collecting, Museums, Display’ at The University of Manchester, Autumn term 2012.

<sup>2</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 23. See: his letters from June 1874 to November 1874 in Davillier. *Life of Fortuny with His Works and Correspondence*.

<sup>4</sup> I will generally use the name ‘Palazzo Orfei’ to signify the palazzo while it was occupied by Fortuny. ‘Palazzo Fortuny’ or ‘Museo Fortuny’ should be taken to indicate the museum in its present state.

<sup>5</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 24-27, 44-45. Fortuny took pictures of Palazzo Orfei before, during, and after the restoration process. These are held in the Palazzo Fortuny photographic archives, and I am very grateful to Claudio Franzini for helping me access these photographs.

<sup>6</sup> Giandomenico Romanelli. ‘Palazzo Fortuny: The Infinite Necromancer’s Space-Machine’. *Artempo. Where Time Becomes Art*. Eds. Jean-Hubert Martin, Axel Vervoordt, Mattijs Visser, Eddi De Wolf. (Ghent: Mer Paper Kunsthalles). 2008. 13-22.16

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 17; ‘Museo. La sede e la storia’ Palazzo Fortuny website [Italian version, the English version of this webpage is considerably abridged].

<<http://fortuny.visitmuve.it/it/il-museo/sede/la-sede-e-la-storia/>>. The Palazzo Fortuny website describes the apartment occupants as of ‘humble circumstance’. Claudio Franzini. Interviewed by author. Palazzo Fortuny. 28 March 2013.

See also: A.S. Byatt. ‘Fortuny’.

Venetian Gothic palazzo in its entirety and began the restoration process.<sup>8</sup> By 1911, Fortuny owned the entire property.<sup>9</sup>

Fortuny's palazzo has been called an 'enchanted castle' said to hold treasures comparable to 'Ali Baba's cave'.<sup>10</sup> The ethereal themes of time, space, light, and magic have long been linked to the artist's home and workspace.<sup>11</sup> These links continue to be made in the museum's current programming, most overtly by Axel Vervoordt Foundation exhibitions held at Palazzo Fortuny. Sharply contrasting areas of light and darkness are used to make secretive pockets, dark grottos upon which the viewer discovers works by Bill Viola, Christian Boltanski, Louise Bourgeois, William Kentridge, or Marina Abramovic. The Gothic palazzo's textured walls echo the layered temporality that these exhibitions are meant to suggest by mingling the contemporary with the historical. These juxtapositions, as seen especially in the Vervoordt Foundation's exhibition for the Venice Biennale in 2011, titled *Tra: Edge of Becoming*, were intended to explore the relationship of time and space to art and being.<sup>12</sup> With similar aims the same foundation had conceived an earlier exhibition at the palazzo in 2007 titled, *Artempo: Where Time Becomes Art* (perhaps a nod to Wagner).<sup>13</sup> In an interview, Axel Vervoordt said that the conceptual goal of this exhibition was to 'show how modern a lot of ancient art is and how ancient a lot of contemporary art is. I wanted to follow the movement of time through material objects.'<sup>14</sup> This curious temporality that permeates Fortuny's palazzo, as well as his work, is read throughout 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' using Michel

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<sup>8</sup> Romanelli. 17; 'Museo. La sede e la storia'; Byatt. 'Fortuny'.

<sup>9</sup> Claudio Franzini Interview at Palazzo Fortuny. 28 March 2013.

<sup>10</sup> Romanelli. 'Palazzo Fortuny: The Infinite Necromancer's Space-Machine'. 16.

<sup>11</sup> See: de Osmá. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 13, 24-25.

<sup>12</sup> Curated by Daniela Ferretti, Rosa Martínez, Francesco Poli, Axel Vervoordt. Palazzo Fortuny, Venice. 4 June – 27 November 2011. It was noted that 'tra' is the reverse of 'art' and in various languages 'tra' is a preposition, prefix, and suffix. See: <[www.tra-expo.com](http://www.tra-expo.com)>

<sup>13</sup> *Artempo*. Curated by Mattijs Visser, Jean-Hubert Martin, Giandomenico Romanelli, and Daniela Ferretti (9 June – 5 November 2007) Musei Civici Veneziani and Axel Vervoordt. See: [http://www.tra-expo.com/artempo/menu\\_en/exhibition\\_en.html](http://www.tra-expo.com/artempo/menu_en/exhibition_en.html). *Parsifal*. Act I, scene I, Gurnemanz: 'Du siehst, mein Sohn, / zum Raum wird hier die Zeit'. ('You see, my son, / here time becomes space').

<sup>14</sup> Axel Vervoordt. Interview with Michael Frank. 'Axel Vervoordt: An effortless blend of old and new for his unique flat in a Venetian palazzo'. *Architectural Digest*. September 2008. Web archive: <[http://www.architecturaldigest.com/architects/100/axel\\_vervoordt/vervoordt\\_article\\_092008](http://www.architecturaldigest.com/architects/100/axel_vervoordt/vervoordt_article_092008)>

Serres' topographical conception of folded time and the idea of 'phantasmagoric time' where, through light and shadow, the past is projected into the present.

This chapter investigates the domestic spaces in which Fortuny worked to gain a more intimate understanding of how his desire to bring forth the past is evident not only in his work, but also in the arrangement of the environment in which he produced his creations. This pleating together of time, as we will see, is the phantasmagoric time of the collector who gathers together objects to displace and manipulate chronology.

As Gaston Bachelard claims in the introduction of his meditation on space: 'the house image would appear to have become the topography of our intimate being.'<sup>15</sup> In other words, psychological interior space can be reflected or expressed in domestic physical space but also, conversely, physical space shapes psychic experiences.<sup>16</sup> Walter Benjamin, in his notes on interior spaces for *The Arcades Project*, describes how this correlation was particularly embraced in the 19th century:

The nineteenth century, like no other century, was addicted to dwelling. It conceived the *residence as a receptacle for the person*, and it encased him with all his appurtenances so deeply in the dwelling's interior that one might be reminded of the inside of a compass case, where the instrument with all its accessories lies embedded in deep, usually violet folds of velvet.<sup>17</sup>

Fortuny created and replicated folds of precious velvet within Palazzo Orfei, a space shaped by his inner life. Having personally restored the decaying palazzo, Fortuny was able to mould the space to his own working needs and aesthetic tastes. He filled his palazzo with antiques and curiosities that were tangible reminders of his father, from whom he had inherited a large portion of the collection. Fortuny also utilised his collection as visual source material for his paintings, photographs, etchings, drawings, and fabric designs. As a revivalist, his study of history was visual – mediated through artworks and artefacts.

The palazzo was a site of multiplication – most of the objects were reiterated in different mediums: artefacts were composed into still life tableaus to be photographed,

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<sup>15</sup> Gaston Bachelard. *The Poetics of Space*. Trans. Maria Jolas. (Boston: Beacon Press) 1964. xxxvi.

<sup>16</sup> This reciprocity of spaces, physical and mental, is the foundation of Diana Fuss' investigation into the spaces of Emily Dickinson, Sigmund Freud, Helen Keller, and Marcel Proust, which has impacted my own thinking on creative work spaces: *The Sense of an Interior: Four Writers and the Rooms That Shaped Them*.

<sup>17</sup> Walter Benjamin. 'The Interior, The Trace.' *The Arcades Project*. 220. Emphasis mine.

then sketched and painted or etched, and then photographed again to be catalogued in Fortuny's archival albums. Together with his wife Henriette, Fortuny photographed and catalogued much of his oeuvre in the later years of his life. As Rosalind Krauss says of photographer Felix Nadar and his autobiographical project, this self-archiving shows 'the conscience of a historian'.<sup>18</sup> Fortuny's persistently historical perspective was even turned upon himself.

Fortuny also used spaces in the palazzo for the highly guarded production of his patterned velvet capes and cloaks, silk Knossos scarves, sheer printed tunics, and his pleated Delphos and Peplos gowns. The upper floors of the palazzo contained the more secretive work spaces; like the large open floor space with long work tables for stamping and stencilling fabrics, the library where he researched old methods of dyeing, and the darkroom where Fortuny invented new photographic papers and processes.

This chapter will move from the more accessible bottom floor of the palazzo upwards to the top levels; as the spaces increase in intimacy so too shall our acquaintance with Fortuny.<sup>19</sup> Bachelard emphasises the verticality of the home: 'A house is imagined as a vertical being. It rises upward.'<sup>20</sup> This is particularly true in an especially literal way on the crowded island of Venice because of the scarcity of ground space. Historically in Venice, the lower floors that were more subject to flooding were inhabited by the lower classes. Conversely, the dry upper floors, called *piano nobile* (meaning 'noble floors'), were for the upper classes.

There are three entrances into the lowest level of Palazzo Fortuny: two on *terra firma*<sup>21</sup> and one on the water. At ground level there is a large door in the façade of the palazzo facing Campo San Benedetto. (Fig. 14) Founded in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the Church of San Benedetto contains altar paintings by Jacopo Robusti (1519-1594), known as *Tintoretto* (meaning 'little dyer' since he was the son of a cloth-dyer).<sup>22</sup> Fortuny closely

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<sup>18</sup> Rosalind Krauss. 'Tracing Nadar'. *October*, Vol.5 Photography (Summer, 1978) 29-47. 29.

<sup>19</sup> Many spaces in the Palazzo are still somewhat secretive. In 2012, access to the floorplan of Palazzo Fortuny was denied for security reasons.

<sup>20</sup> Bachelard. *The Poetics of Space*. 6.

<sup>21</sup> The commonly used Venetian term for dry land, 'firm ground'.

<sup>22</sup> Hugh Brigstocke. 'Tintoretto'. *The Oxford Companion to Western Art*. Ed. Hugh Brigstocke. *Oxford Art Online*. (Oxford University Press) Accessed via <<http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t118/e2593>>

studied Tintoretto's work and, following traditional practice, Fortuny painted copies of his compositions and learned his colour palette.

The back entrance into the ground floor of Palazzo Fortuny is through the *porta d'acqua*. Meaning literally, 'water door', this Venetian architectural element was utilised by those arriving by boat from the *Rio de Ca' Michiel*, which branches off of the Grand Canal. (Plate 11) From the lagoon-splashed stairs just past the *porta d'acqua*, dark, damp stony archways lead into the bright central courtyard, which is surrounded on three sides by the tall stories of the palazzo and a gate on the fourth wall. (Plate 12) The second landed entrance is through a door in this gate, opposite the second floor *loggia* to which floral scents waft upwards from the courtyard in the summer.

By removing the partitions that had been used in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century to create smaller apartments within the palazzo, Fortuny re-established the *portego* spaces on the first and second floors.<sup>23</sup> These large, central open spaces are characteristically flanked by smaller rooms on the periphery. The first floor *portego* was filled with antique swords, suits of armour, Oriental carpets, and textiles weathered from age, many of which Fortuny inherited from his parents who collected on their travels to Moorish markets in North Africa, southern Spain, and Italy.<sup>24</sup> (Plate 13, Fig. 14) Fortuny transformed the space into an exotically decorated atelier for welcoming clients as well as guests from his artistic circle. The antiques of Fortuny's father that are currently on display at Palazzo Fortuny are a remnant of the whole collection, as many objects were dispersed or sold in the years between Fortuny's death in 1949 and the government acquisition of Palazzo Orfei through the bequest in 1957 that ultimately converted it into Museo Fortuny.<sup>25</sup> His printed silk-covered lamps are suspended from the ceiling and dimly lit for the purpose of conservation, while the now famous Fortuny domed lamps stand in various places throughout the palazzo. The walls are covered floor to ceiling with printed textiles attached to exposed wooden beams; antique fabrics hang next to Fortuny's own printed designs, just as they did when he lived in the palazzo. (Fig. 15) The very old foreign

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See: Benjamin Paul. 'Jacopo Tintoretto and the Church of San Benedetto in Venice'. *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*. 49Bd., H. 3, (Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz: Max-Planck-Institut) 2005. 377-412.

<sup>23</sup> 'Museo. La sede e la storia'.

<sup>24</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 16.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 202. I have studied Fortuny's arrangement of the palazzo from the numerous photographs he took of Palazzo Orfei both for documentation and in preparation for various paintings. These are held in the photographic archives of Museo Fortuny under the heading 'Architectura Interni'.

textiles that made up his collection helped to inspire patterns for his own clothing designs and furnishing fabrics. Though many of the other objects from the collection are largely untraceable, Fortuny's antique fabric and garment collection has been preserved and catalogued by *Fondazione di Venezia*.<sup>26</sup> Like the 19<sup>th</sup>-century bourgeois interiors that Benjamin described, the *primo piano nobile* was filled with antiques and curiosities amidst abundant textiles. Fortuny used these artefacts to develop an object-based visual approach to history. Both Fortuny and his father utilised these pieces in their artistic practice directly – as references in paintings, drawings, etc., – and indirectly, to create an exotic atmosphere that conjured both the far away and the long ago. Having inherited much of his collection from his father, it is not surprising that Fortuny's studio resembled his father's. (Figs. 16a, b)

Once he had acquired the entirety of Palazzo Orfei, Fortuny used the separate room on that main floor as a studio space for painting and the construction of models for his theatre and architectural designs. He sketched a design programme including Wagnerian scenes and allegories to cover the walls of the studio, which he painted over thirteen years without ever completing. (Figs. 17-18, Plates 14a, b-15a, b)

The *portego* on the second floor was used for the production of his garments, while a separate area functioned as Fortuny's library. In contrast to the openness of the first floor atelier, which was used to welcome guests, this *portego* on the *secondo piano nobile* would have been more closely guarded to protect the production secrets of his fashion designs. Fortuny's library, a smaller room adjacent to this *portego*, is still a very guarded area. (Plate 16) This space, which is closed to the public, has been sacralised by writers like Giorgio Molinari who liken it to a *sancta sanctorum*.<sup>27</sup> (Figs. 19, 20, Plate 20) Among other assorted objects, this cloistered space was filled with sculptures (busts of family members as well as classical reproductions), a press, books on old textile dyeing and printing methods, serially collected National Geographic magazines, the works of Goethe, books on Wagner, Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, and over two-hundred of Fortuny's

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<sup>26</sup> Doretta Davanzo Poli has also been written about Fortuny's textile archive in *Seta & Oro*; and *I Tessili Fortuny di Oriente e Occidente*.

<sup>27</sup> George Molinari. 'Vecchi Inediti per Nuovi "Originali"'. *L'Occhio di Fortuny: Panorami, ritratti e altre visioni*. (Venice: Marsilio) 2005. 22-26. 22. de Osma also refers to Fortuny's library as the 'holy of holies'. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 27.



albums of travel photographs, sketches, and collected photographic reproductions of artworks that he referenced for inspiration.<sup>28</sup>

Further along the *portego* of the *secondo piano nobile* there is a door that leads up a flight of stairs to a sort of half-floor (between the third and attic stories) covering almost an eighth of the palazzo's footprint.<sup>29</sup> (Fig. 21) Fortuny fashioned this space into a darkroom where he experimented with new ways of printing with his own invented paper and other unusual photographic processes. It is also in this room that he used a projector to view slides of old master paintings, sometimes even making enormous enlargements of particular details.<sup>30</sup> Fortuny had not only painted copies of the European master works in his classical training but, in his darkroom – a site of image replication – he also printed them as large photographs. Like the library at Palazzo Fortuny, this space is closed to the public and is well hidden from documentation.

Just outside the entrance to the darkroom there is a long opening cut into the floor where fabrics could be passed from the top floor, where they were printed and dried, to the second floor where finishing touches – delicate variations of colour – were added by hand.<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 22) On the top floor, three of the four walls in the dazzlingly bright attic contain consecutively placed windows. (Fig. 23) The counterpart to the specifically Venetian *porta d'acqua* on the ground floor is the *altana* on the attic (third) floor. (Plate 17) A wooden spiral staircase leads up to the small roof-deck, or *altana* – a common feature in Venetian architecture. The smallness of the city forces its buildings upward, and the *altana* rises into the open air, allowing views of the staggered Italian terracotta rooftops.

Following the verticality of the palazzo, 'Secret Spaces' begins with the open first floor, filled with the collection Fortuny inherited from his parents. Drawing upon Benjamin's writing on interior spaces and collecting as well as his own personal habit of collecting, this chapter examines how memory-inducing objects catalyse creative work. By intertwining three turn-of-the-century collectors, Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo (1871-

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<sup>28</sup> There are more recent images where some of these objects are placed in other areas of the palazzo, however, in Fortuny's own photographs they are present in his library. These are in the Palazzo Fortuny photographic archives under *Architettura Interni*, 1-31.

<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, I was not allowed to have or make photographs or blueprints of this area of the palazzo.

<sup>30</sup> I am grateful to Claudio Franzini for answering my questions on the implements used in Fortuny's darkroom.

<sup>31</sup> Cristina Da Roit. Interviewed by author. Palazzo Fortuny. 26 August 2013.

1949), Walter Benjamin (1892-1940), and Marcel Proust (1871-1922), ‘Secret Spaces’ examines how workspaces, purposely decorated with accumulated objects, are saturated with memory. They are spaces designed to facilitate historical daydreaming; spaces where the past is invited to interrupt the present, where memory incites work. Though others have described Fortuny’s palazzo as phantasmagoric,<sup>32</sup> this chapter seeks to unfold how his domestic working space operates as a dream-like space.

Building from Jean Baudrillard’s assertion that collections always evoke the presence of their collector, this chapter argues that Fortuny’s inherited collection, in addition to being used as visual source material in his revivalist designs, evokes the presence of his absent father. Then moving upward to the second floor of the palazzo, where Fortuny’s library held (and still holds) his thousands of photographic reproductions of artworks, it is argued that these images are used as references for reviving the past like Benjamin’s photographs of 19<sup>th</sup>-century bourgeois interiors and the quotes he gathered for *The Arcades* (snapshots of full texts), and Proust’s portrait photographs used to inspire him in writing the characters of *À la recherche*.

Upwards still, onto the half-floor of Fortuny’s palazzo, the section on his darkroom reveals how Fortuny used this space to study, manipulate, and play with art historical images using his homemade enlarger. This dark space is a place of inversion. Fortuny experimented with reversing many elements of traditional photography: he used natural light in his darkroom, he printed horizontally, he made a series of prints without any light at all. . . . As Brassai has suggested in his *Proust in the Power of Photography*, Proust’s way of writing – to enlarge, reverse, develop, replicate – was photographic.<sup>33</sup> According to Brassai, Proust sometimes even called his writing space ‘my darkroom’.<sup>34</sup> These spaces – Fortuny’s darkroom and Proust’s bedroom – were sites of magical multiplication. As Roland Barthes opines, ‘What the Photograph reproduces to infinity has occurred only once: the Photograph *mechanically* repeats what could never be repeated *existentially*.’<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Romanelli. ‘Palazzo Fortuny: The Infinite Necromancer’s Space-Machine’.

<sup>33</sup> First published in French in 1997 by Gallimard as, *Marcel Proust sous l’emprise de la photographie*.

<sup>34</sup> Brassai. *Proust in the Power of Photography*. Trans. Richard Howard. (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press) 2001.140.

<sup>35</sup> Roland Barthes. *Camera Lucida*. Trans. Richard Howard. (New York: Hill and Wang) 1981. 4.

The close of the chapter brings together the dichotomous spaces of Palazzo Fortuny by contrasting the lowest floor and the highest; the light and darkness and openness and secrecy of these spaces. These domestic working spaces facilitated a phantasmagoric vision – they were spaces for remembering and resurrecting the past. We begin where Fortuny revived his personal past in the memorialisation of his father.

### **Paternal Inheritance**

In addition to the collection of old armour, metalwork, textiles, etchings and other curiosities that Fortuny inherited, he also possessed and displayed many of his father's compositions – most notably the unfinished portrait of him and his sister that was examined in the Introduction. (Figs. 24, Plates 9a, 9b) While most of Marià's completed works were auctioned to assist with family finances, Cecilia kept some of her husband's incomplete works and displayed them in the homes in which her children grew up.<sup>36</sup> Though the younger Fortuny could not have had much memory of his father, being only three when the renowned Catalan artist died, he was passionate about the legacy of the elder Fortuny. He helped publish new editions of Baron Davillier's *Life of Fortuny with His Works and Correspondence* in French (1931), English (1933), and Italian (1933).<sup>37</sup>

Fortuny also collected monographs written on his father that are still archived in his library at Palazzo Fortuny. Unlike most of his other books (even those written on his own work), Fortuny made notes and corrections in the margins of these. Fortuny used pencil to mark in his well-worn copy of *El arte y el vivir de Fortuny* by Catalanian writer Joaquín Ciervo y Paradell.<sup>38</sup> This monograph, one of two books that Ciervo wrote on Mariano Fortuny y Marsal, contains 108 illustrations. Fortuny's annotations are generally for added specificity: the exact dimensions of paintings, their dates or locations.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Edouard de Beaumont, Auguste Dupont-Auberville and Jean-Charles Davillier. *Atelier de Fortuny: ouvre posthume, [...]*.

<sup>37</sup> Franzini. Interview. 28 March 2013. Jean-Charles (Baron) Davillier (1823-1883) was a French collector and art historian who was a friend of Mariano Fortuny y Marsal. See: Élodie Baillot. 'Davillier, Jean-Charles (Baron)'. *Dictionnaire critique des historiens de l'art actifs en France de la Révolution à la Première Guerre mondiale*. Eds. Philippe Sénéchal, Claire Barbillon. (Paris: Institut national d'histoire de l'art) 17 February 2014. <<http://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/davillier-jean-charles-baron.html>>

<sup>38</sup> J. Ciervo (1880-1959) *El arte y el vivir de Fortuny*. (Barcelona: editorial y libreria de arte, m. Bayés) 1920. In Fortuny's library A15.6.

<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, the unfinished portrait of he and his sister is cropped to only include the half that depicts María Luisa. Fortuny has not made a comment on this. *Ibid.* 99.

In a more abrasive tone than his other private writings, Fortuny annotated Charles Yriarte's *Les Artiste Célèbres: Fortuny* with comments like, 'c'est idiot!', 'non!', 'inexact', and 'faux!'.<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 25) Yriarte (1832-1898) met Fortuny y Marsal when they had both been sent to Morocco to cover the war (1859-1860).<sup>41</sup> Fortuny's condemnation was not limited to marginalia. He also crossed through several lines of Yriarte's book. One page contains a long exposition in the margins, written in black pen, correcting Yriarte's misunderstandings on the negotiations for his father's much celebrated, yet unfinished panoramic composition – *The Battle of Tetuan*.<sup>42</sup> (Fig. 26) The most succinctly damning criticism is the boldly scrawled 'mediocre' on the title page of the book. (Plate 18)

Fortuny was intimately acquainted with his father's artwork, and in many ways took after him.<sup>43</sup> He made painting studies, copying portions of Marià's compositions, learning from his father despite his absence. (Plates 19a, b) It could be said that Fortuny inherited his father's love of Italy, antiques, textiles, and his skilfulness with colour and light.

Fortuny's work and living spaces closely resemble those of his father, due to the inheritance of much of his collection, and likely also from a conscious choice to memorialise. Bachelard describes how domestic spaces are imbued with the personal past: 'An entire past comes to dwell in a new house. The old saying: "We bring our *lares* with us" has many variations.'<sup>44</sup> 'Lares' here invokes multiple meanings: both 'tutelary deities of a house'<sup>45</sup> and, as in Middle English, what we now refer to as 'lairs'.<sup>46</sup> Both of

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<sup>40</sup> Charles Yriarte. *Les Artiste Célèbres: Fortuny*. (Paris: J. Rouam) 1886. Catalogued as A7.20 at Museo Fortuny.

<sup>41</sup> Marie Dal Falco. 'Yriarte, Charles'. *Dictionnaire critique des historiens de l'art actifs en France de la Révolution à la Première Guerre mondiale*. Eds. Philippe Senechal, Claire Barbillon. (Paris: Institut national d'histoire de l'art) 22 Sept. 2009. <<http://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/yriarte-charles.html>>

<sup>42</sup> Fortuny y Marsal commenced this painting, which now hangs in the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (Barcelona), in 1862.

<sup>43</sup> Though it is unfortunately not within the scope of this thesis, a formal study comparing the work of the father and son would certainly yield helpful results for a richer reading of Fortuny's oeuvre.

<sup>44</sup> Bachelard. *The Poetics of Space*. 5.

<sup>45</sup> 'lar, n.' *OED Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press) September 2014. Web. <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/105793?rskey=wocrNE&result=6>> 19 September 2014.

these definitions apply to Fortuny bringing the *lares* of his childhood with him into Palazzo Orfei. The collection that filled the family's Roman villa was comprised of antiques, objects imbued with meaning and memory – the little household gods that came to be the apotropaic gods protecting Fortuny from forgetting his father. Bringing the collection into Palazzo Orfei was also a way of bringing his past *lair* with him. The Fortunys' Roman house and studio is important to examine because growing up in these exotically decorated spaces informed Fortuny's aesthetic and his taste for foreign and aged objects.

Despite the attraction to replicate his father's workspace, Fortuny most likely grew up believing his father's studio was lethal – its dampness was thought to have caused Marià's premature death. According to French sculptor Prosper d'Épinay (a close friend who was with Marià in his last days) the Fortunys' Roman house had contributed to or even led to his illness.<sup>47</sup> D'Épinay wrote that they were 'warned not to take this house that was sunken and wet, surrounded by gardens and vines! If locals declared it unhealthy and it had been uninhabited for years, then these reasons were certainly founded.'<sup>48</sup>

Marià died a few days after returning to the family's villa on Via Flaminia. This is the ancient road through Rome that crosses the Tiber river at Ponte Molle,<sup>49</sup> a favourite locale for centuries of artists. The history of this site, and the art that depicted it, would certainly have been known to Marià, and perhaps influenced his decision to take the house. The ancient Ponte Molle, now covered in 'love padlocks', was the site of a decisive battle, on the 28<sup>th</sup> of October 312 A.D, between the Christian emperor Constantine I and the pagan Roman emperor Maxentius. Before the battle, it is said that after prayers, Constantine I and his troops witnessed an illuminated cross and *Chi Rho* written in the sky, implying heavenly favour. This legendarily supernatural scene, as well as the battle it prefigured and even just the bridge itself, have all been portrayed many times over in the history of art: the triumphal Arch of Constantine in Rome (315), the last

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<sup>46</sup> 'lair, n.1' *OED Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press) September 2014. Web. <<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/105136?rskey=wocrNE&result=1>> 19 September 2014.

<sup>47</sup> Prosper d'Épinay's report to Albert Wolff, a collector/patron of Mariano Fortuny y Marsal, published in *Le Gaulois*. 'Fortuny' 27 November 1874. Accessed via <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k56757893/f10.image.r=fortuny>>

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* My translation.

<sup>49</sup> Via Flaminia is also known as the 'Flaminian Way' and the Ponte Molle as the 'Milvian Bridge' or 'Ponte Milvio'.

of Raphael's Vatican frescoes (completed post-mortem, 1520-1524),<sup>50</sup> a tranquil golden pastoral scene painted in oil by Claude Lorraine (1645), Gianlorenzo Bernini's dynamic equestrian sculpture of Constantine in St. Peter's Basilica (1670), a view of the Ponte Molle amongst Giambattista Piranesi's series of etchings of the romanticised ruins of Rome (1750-1778),<sup>51</sup> and several small watercolour sketches by Joseph Mallord William Turner (1819), to name a few. The bridge on Via Flaminia was, for centuries, a locus for artistic inspiration.

D'Epinay wrote that upon Marià's death, the whole Roman art world travelled along Via Flaminia to join a house full of mourners.<sup>52</sup> The damp house was filled with visitors paying their last respects. Impressions were taken for the death mask that would later have pride of place in his son's Venetian palazzo. (Fig. 27) In the evening, a few days later, friends of the deceased carried his partially glass-fronted coffin down the Via Flaminia to Santa Maria del Popolo for the funeral service, processing between rows of torches.<sup>53</sup> Marià Fortuny was then buried in Campo Verano,<sup>54</sup> where his young family would, many years later, be interred beside him in Rome's largest cemetery, near the church of San Lorenzo.<sup>55</sup> (Fig. 28)

Contemporary accounts describe the poignant observances as perfectly fitting for a Spanish painter whose life reads like a tragic fairy tale. This interpretation of Marià Fortuny's life could only partially be attributed to the 19<sup>th</sup>-century sentimentality that pervaded historical, biographical writing. After all, he was born into a penniless family and, following his father's death, he and his siblings were sent to live with their grandfather who made wax dolls, which the young boy was sent to other villages to sell.<sup>56</sup> It was said that one night, lacking shelter, he slept beneath an overturned fishing boat on

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<sup>50</sup> Raphael's assistants completed *The Vision of the Cross* and *Battle of Milvian Bridge* using the cartoons he prepared in 1519-1520, the last year of his life.

<sup>51</sup> In the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

<sup>52</sup> d'Epinay. 'Fortuny'.

<sup>53</sup> Anne Brewster. 'Mariano Fortuny' *Old and New* Vol. 11, ed. Edward Everett Hale. (Boston: H.O. Houghton and Co.; New York: Hurd and Houghton) 1875. 358-367. Digitized by the Prejinger Library (San Francisco, California) 2006. Accessed via <<http://www.ebooksread.com/authors-eng/edward-e-hale/old-and-new-volume-11-hci/page-48-old-and-new-volume-11-hci.shtml>>. 364-365.

<sup>54</sup> Ciervo. *El arte y el vivir de Fortuny*. 115.

<sup>55</sup> Franzini. Interview. 28 March 2013.

<sup>56</sup> Brewster. 'Mariano Fortuny'. 359. In adulthood, a friend reports that visiting the wax models at Madame Tussaud's in London prompted Marià to recount stories from his childhood. Davillier. *Life of Fortuny with His Works and Correspondence*. 11.

the shore.<sup>57</sup> Later, after recognising his talent for drawing, a sponsor sent Marià Fortuny to the *Academia de Bella Artes* in Barcelona to study painting in 1853.<sup>58</sup> His Cinderella story continues with the young painter having to take on multiple extra jobs whilst in the painting program to supplement his small stipend, which led to exhaustion.<sup>59</sup> After doing well in Barcelona, in 1859 he was sent to the Spanish war front in Morocco to depict scenes of battle. Most notably he would produce preparatory drawings for the *Battle of Tetuan*. While in Morocco, he made several sketches of street scenes, marketplaces, and locals, being especially fascinated by Eastern costume. His painting contemporaries say that it was in Morocco that he learned to paint with ‘juicy and rich’ colour.<sup>60</sup> After painting in Rome and Naples and visiting Paris and Madrid, in 1867 Marià married Cecilia Madrazo, whose father and grandfather were both artists and directors of the Museo del Prado Museum.<sup>61</sup> Their son, Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo, would be the fourth generation in this Spanish family to choose to paint in France and Italy.<sup>62</sup> Also like his son who would be known for innovative studies of light, Marià Fortuny was part of the *Macchiaioli* – the Italian proto-Impressionist group that operated between Rome, Florence, and Paris.<sup>63</sup> In the posthumous book on Fortuny y Marsal by Ciervo, contemporary Spanish painters said that he was, ‘fervently in love with light’ and that his later work was a ‘formidable exaltation of the colour and power of light’.<sup>64</sup> The letters Marià wrote in the last few months of his life consistently mention his desire to continue collecting, to see ancient costumes, and to go to Venice.<sup>65</sup> Though Fortuny only had the first three years of his life with his father, the elder painter’s love of luminous colour, exotic antiques, Oriental armour, and rare patterned tapestries was transferred (through inheritance and conscious emulation) to his son.

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<sup>57</sup> Brewster. ‘Mariano Fortuny’. 359.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 359; Davillier. *Life of Fortuny with His Works and Correspondence*. 13.

<sup>59</sup> Davillier. *Life of Fortuny with His Works and Correspondence*. 14-15.

<sup>60</sup> Brewster. ‘Mariano Fortuny’. 359.

<sup>61</sup> Cecilia’s grandfather José de Madrazo (1781-1859) studied under Jacques-Louis David, the neo-classical painter. Molly Sorkin and Jennifer Park. ‘Fortuny y Madrazo: An Artistic Legacy’. *Fortuny y Madrazo: An Artistic Legacy*. 13-26. 13, 22; Davillier. *Life of Fortuny with His Works and Correspondence*. 57.

<sup>62</sup> For information on Cecilia’s father (Federico) and grandfather (José) see: Mark A. Roglán. ‘José, Federico, and Raimundo de Madrazo: A Dynasty of Art and Leadership in Nineteenth-Century Spain’ *Fortuny y Madrazo: An Artistic Legacy*. 81-96.

<sup>63</sup> Marcus B. Burke. ‘The Madrazo-Fortuny Family: Four Generations of Artistic Genius’. *Fortuny y Madrazo: An Artistic Legacy*. 97-116. 102.

<sup>64</sup> Ciervo. *El arte y el vivir de Fortuny*. x. My translation.

<sup>65</sup> See: Davillier. *Life of Fortuny with His Works and Correspondence*.

## *Primo Piano Nobile*

### Collection as catalyst

Every passion borders on the chaotic, but the collector's  
passion borders on the chaos of memories. -Walter Benjamin  
'Unpacking My Library'<sup>66</sup>

The décor in Palazzo Martinengo, as seen in Fortuny's own photographs, utilised the antiques collection brought with the family from Rome via Paris to their Venetian home. (Fig. 6) The walls were covered with antique tapestries and paintings by both the elder and younger Mariano Fortunys. The palazzo was also decorated with rugs, furniture, and suits of armour collected by his parents in their travels to Moorish markets in North Africa, southern Spain, and Italy. Later, when Fortuny decorated his own salon and studio in Palazzo Orfei with pieces from this same family collection, it not only resembled the Venetian house of his mother but also the Roman studio of his father.<sup>67</sup> Although some objects can be traced through Fortuny's photographic archives of the Venetian spaces, it is generally unknown which pieces from his father's collection were housed in Palazzo Martinengo or Palazzo Orfei, and for which periods of time.

Fortuny not only inherited the collection of his family's antiques, but he also continued its development by acquiring more pieces. Like his parents, Fortuny enjoyed travelling and was especially fond of Egypt. Travel photographs from a visit to Egypt in 1938 show Fortuny and his wife in front of hieroglyphs on the Temple of Medinet Habu, with camels beside the Pyramids at Giza, and inside the walls of the monastery of St. Simon in Aswan. There are portraits of shepherds amongst the ruins of the Temple of Montu and, in Aswan, veiled women at a cemetery and Bedouin children in tents. There are scenes of boats on the Nile, street markets in Cairo, and turbaned men at the Temple of Ramses II.<sup>68</sup> As his parents did, Fortuny and Henriette accumulated exotic objects on their travels to add to their collection back at home.

Having grown up around his father's antiques, it is not surprising that Fortuny would seek to use them in his own home. These objects evoked his missing father. By

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<sup>66</sup> *Illuminations*. 61-62.

<sup>67</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 16-24.

<sup>68</sup> There are several albums of his travel photographs held in the archives at Museo Fortuny. Palazzo Fortuny showcased a selection of Fortuny's travel photographs in an exhibition titled, *Mariano Fortuny Viaggio in Egitto Appunti fotografici d'artista*. Curated by Daniella Ferretti. (27 March – 27 June 2004).



using his father's antiques, Fortuny activated his memory within Palazzo Orfei. Again, as Bachelard puts it:

An entire past comes to dwell in a new house. The old saying: "We bring our *lares* with us" has many variations. And the daydream deepens to the point where an immemorial domain opens up for the dreamer of a home beyond man's earliest memory. [...] Through dreams, the various dwelling-places in our lives co-penetrate and retain the treasures of former days.<sup>69</sup>

For Fortuny, the memorialised domain that is opened is, as Bachelard puts it, beyond his earliest memory – before the loss of his father. The objects once belonging to a lost loved one become imbued with their memory, and indulge the dream of their nearness. The home filled with these memory objects becomes a place for dwelling with ghosts. It is this same reason that Marcel Proust overcrowded his own bedroom with the furniture of his deceased parents and family members. As Diana Fuss observes, 'In Proust's life as in his fiction, pieces of furniture operated as personal vehicles of memory [...]. Objects are talismanic subjects for Proust, fetishistic signs of the simultaneous absence and presence of the dead'.<sup>70</sup> Fuss continues by quoting from *À la recherche*, 'In this cult of grief for our own dead, we pay an idolatrous worship to the things that they loved'.<sup>71</sup>

Born only two months apart, both Proust and Fortuny spent their childhoods in France, plagued by asthma and allergies.<sup>72</sup> Throughout his adult life, Fortuny would periodically retreat to the mountains for rest and asthma treatments.<sup>73</sup> Proust's own hayfever and severe asthma prevented him from traveling as much as he desired.<sup>74</sup> Ironically though, it was the not going away that made him ill, but rather, more often, it was the journey home that provoked attacks.<sup>75</sup> Once inside his home, Proust would ban flowers, perfumes, and even some food preparation in an attempt to prevent strong odours

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<sup>69</sup> Bachelard. *The Poetics of Space*. 5.

<sup>70</sup> Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 164.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* quoting Marcel Proust. *Remembrance of Things Past*. Trans. Moncrieff and Kilmartin. New York: Vintage, 1982. (IV:797).

<sup>72</sup> Fortuny (b. 11 May 1871); Proust (b. 10 July 1871)

<sup>73</sup> de Osmá. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 188.

<sup>74</sup> Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 50-52, 258, 445-448, 728.

<sup>75</sup> '[...] but there was a distressing incident: at Mézidon Marcel suffered a bout of asthma (as he did on every trip home: "Going back... the idea that there is still all the journey ahead..." he said to Céleste) and his medicaments were in the luggage van, so with great difficulty Céleste went to get them at the next station. [...] He returned to Paris, never to leave the city again, despite the dreams he sometimes had of going to Italy or to Brittany once his book was completed.' Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 622; referencing *Correspondence* vol. XIII, 306 to Marthe Proust and C. Albaret. 47-54.

from exacerbating his condition.<sup>76</sup> When he had to move house in 1919, the distress of conforming the new apartment to his health needs was even more stressful than the fact that he had to sell off tapestries and furniture to cover the rent that had accumulated on the old apartment at Boulevard Haussmann throughout the government suspension of rent payments during the end of the war.<sup>77</sup> On his apprehension of the ill-health that would result from moving, Proust wrote to André Gide: ‘an asthmatic never knows if he will be able to breathe, and he can be certain of nearly suffocating in a new home.’<sup>78</sup> Beyond his preferences for aged objects and antique furniture, in a certain sense, Proust was allergic to the new.

His bedroom at Boulevard Haussman contained pieces of family furniture, no doubt of sentimental rather than aesthetic value to him.<sup>79</sup> Like Fortuny and the memorialising function of his collection, Fuss suggests that the objects that surrounded Proust’s interior domestic space served as containers for memory (specifically of his parents).<sup>80</sup> For Proust, objects are animated with the memory of lost loved ones. His narrator claims, ‘there is much to be said for the Celtic belief that the souls of those whom we have lost are held captive in some inferior being, in an animal, in a plant, in some inanimate object’.<sup>81</sup>

The collector’s motivation is to manipulate time and preserve memory. For Proust, Fuss summarises: ‘Proustian object-love operates, in short, as the antidote to lost time.’<sup>82</sup> As phrased by Jean Baudrillard in ‘The System of Collecting’, anthologised in *The Cultures of Collecting*:

*the setting up of a collection itself displaces real time.*  
Doubtless this is the fundamental project of all collecting-  
to translate real time into the dimensions of a system. [...]:

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<sup>76</sup> Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 192. See also: Albaret. *Monsieur Proust*.

<sup>77</sup> Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 689.

<sup>78</sup> February 20, 1919. *Correspondence* vol. XVIII, 109; quoted by Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 191; and Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 689. Fuss adds that, ‘When Proust moved into boulevard Haussmann, he suffered an asthma attack that lasted almost fifty hours, [...]’ 191.

<sup>79</sup> Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 163; Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 689-690, 694-695, 704-705.

<sup>80</sup> Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 164.

<sup>81</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. I. 59.

<sup>82</sup> Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 164.

yet collecting remains first and foremost, and in the true sense, a *pastime*. For collecting simply abolishes time.<sup>83</sup>

The *pastime* of collecting that abolishes time is simultaneously like Proust's own act of recovering *lost* time (*temps perdu*) – a way of remembering or recouping what (or who) has been lost.

As in the bourgeois interior described by Benjamin in 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century', Proust's bedroom was a phantasmic space (like his narrator's boyhood room transformed by the projections of the magic lantern)<sup>84</sup> inhabited by the ghosts of those represented in his collected furniture. Proust wrote from the enclosed space of his bedroom. Like Noah – the first collector,<sup>85</sup> Proust was shut up inside with his collection.<sup>86</sup>

In addition to being surrounded by these evocative pieces of family furniture, Proust also collected photographs of friends, acquaintances, and celebrities, which he used to stimulate the development of characters in his novel.<sup>87</sup> In his 1999 adaptation of Proust's novel, Chilean filmmaker Raúl Ruiz shows the French writer in the bed from which he wrote, surrounded by these photographs.<sup>88</sup> (Fig. 29) In an earlier scene in the film, the writer/narrator (Ruiz unflinchingly conflates the two) gives a sort of photographic roll call of the cast of his novel. He holds a magnifying glass over the portrait of an elegant friend and speaks the name 'Gilberte' – the daughter of Charles Swann, who will be the love interest of the narrator's youth. (Fig. 30)

Similarly, but perhaps slightly more pragmatically, Benjamin used photographs for reference in his writings on 19<sup>th</sup>-century bourgeois interiors. He kept three photographs alongside his photographs of the arcades.<sup>89</sup> These interior photographs, taken

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<sup>83</sup> Jean Baudrillard. 'The System of Collecting'. Trans. Roger Cardinal. *The Cultures of Collecting*. Eds. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal. (London: Reaktion Books) 1994. 7-24 16.

<sup>84</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. I. 9-12.

<sup>85</sup> John Elsner and Roger Cardinal. 'Introduction'. *The Cultures of Collecting*. 1; Susan Stewart also talks about this in *On Longing: narratives of the miniature, the gigantic, the souvenir, the collection*. (Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press) 1993. 152.

<sup>86</sup> Brassai. *Proust in the Power of Photography*. 140.

<sup>87</sup> Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 199-200.

<sup>88</sup> Raúl Ruiz. *Le temps retrouvé, d'après l'oeuvre de Marcel Proust* [released in UK/USA as *Time Regained*] 1999.

<sup>89</sup> 'Past Turned Space. Arcades and Interiors'. *Walter Benjamin's Archive: Images, Texts, Signs*. Trans. Esther Leslie. Eds. Ursula Marx, Gudrun Schwarz, Michael Schwarz, Erdmut Wizisla. (London, New York: Verso) 2007. 267-286. 268. Figs. 11.15-11.17.

by his friend Sasha Stone (1895-1940), are three different views of one room.<sup>90</sup> (Figs. 31a, 31b, 31c) This room, which Benjamin must have considered the quintessential example of the bourgeois interior on which he was to write, looks similar to Proust's bedroom, and also to Fortuny's *portego* space on the *primo piano nobile*, though it is smaller than the characteristically wide Venetian space. We will return to the use of photographs as an aid to memory and the creative processes of Fortuny and Proust later in this chapter. But first, let us examine these elegiac, over-stuffed spaces as a site for dreaming.

These rooms – Benjamin's bourgeois interiors, Proust's bedroom, and Fortuny's first floor *portego* – are cluttered. But, as psychoanalyst Adam Phillips has argued following his sessions with a young painter, clutter can spur creative work.<sup>91</sup> To clutter a room is to fill its space, but to work in a cluttered room is to fill time.<sup>92</sup> One loses time/wastes time/fills time not being able to find what is needed, but instead comes across other evocative materials and objects that cause one's mind to navigate a labyrinth of memories. As Phillips puts it: 'Clutter may not be about the way we hide things from ourselves but the way we make ourselves look for things. It is, as it were, self-imposed hide and seek.'<sup>93</sup> This seeking time then is not wasted time (*temps perdu*), or it is wasted time recovered (*temps retrouvé*) if the little incidental discoveries provoke revelatory memories – not unlike Proust's involuntary memories that lay buried until unexpectedly, uncontrollably revived. Carol Mavor has described Proust's writing as being cluttered, like his bedroom and his memory.<sup>94</sup> In these cluttered rooms, this time lost in memory, in meandering thoughts, is like the daydreaming that Benjamin says happens in bourgeois 19<sup>th</sup>-century interiors, and for which Bachelard says the domestic space of the home is intended.

The interiority of bourgeois domestic space, as Benjamin repeatedly points out in notes for *The Arcades Project*, operated as a dream-space; as bourgeois culture, lacking

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<sup>90</sup> Also known as, Aleksander Serge Steinsapir. 'Past Turned Space. Arcades and Interiors'. *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> Adam Phillips. 'Clutter: A Case History'. *Promises Promises*. (London: Faber & Faber) 2000. 59-71.

<sup>92</sup> Phillips. 'Clutter: A Case History'. 63.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.* 64.

<sup>94</sup> Carol Mavor. *Reading Boyishly: Roland Barthes, J. M. Barrie, Jacques Henri Lartigue, Marcel Proust, and D.W. Winnicott*. (Durham, N.C. and London: Duke University Press) 2007. 323; 334.

consciousness of itself, revelled in the dream-like spaces of possession.<sup>95</sup> This phantasmagoric space of the collection that incites memory also promotes dreaming. Stuffed with antiques, exotic tapestries and carpets the ‘[...] nineteenth-century interior is itself a stimulus to intoxication and dream.’<sup>96</sup>

Similarly, according to Bachelard, the most important function of interior domestic space is that it shelters the daydreamer.<sup>97</sup> The daydream, for Bachelard, is the union of conscious thought, memory, and dreams.<sup>98</sup> But what is the subject of the daydream? According to Bachelard,

We live fixations, fixations of happiness. We comfort ourselves by reliving memories of protection. Something closed must retain our memories, while leaving them their original value as images. Memories of the outside world will never have the same tonality as those of home and by recalling these memories, we add to our store of dreams; we are never real historians, but always near poets, and our emotion is perhaps nothing but an expression of a poetry that was lost.<sup>99</sup>

There is no objectivity in the objects we collect (‘we are never *real* historians’). As Benjamin described, ‘[...] the collector’s passion borders on the chaos of memories.’<sup>100</sup> The collection betrays the passion of a poet as the collector is one who selects and arranges memory-laden objects to compose the daydream. One of the chief roles of the collector, according to Benjamin, is the orderer of things.<sup>101</sup> By using the objects once collected by his father as catalysts to his memory, Fortuny created an interior space conducive to elegiac daydreaming.

This same memorialising magic is at work in the section titled ‘The Interior, The Trace’ in *The Arcades Project*, where Benjamin comments, ‘This is the formula for the interior’ following a quote from Kierkegaard: ‘The art would be to be able to feel homesick, even though one is at home. Expertness in the art of illusion is required for

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<sup>95</sup> Benjamin. ‘First Sketches’. *The Arcades Project*. 839, 863.

<sup>96</sup> Benjamin. ‘The Interior, The Trace’. *The Arcades Project*. 216.

<sup>97</sup> Bachelard. *The Poetics of Space*. 6.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>100</sup> Benjamin. ‘Unpacking My Library’. *Illuminations*. 61-62.

<sup>101</sup> See: ‘Unpacking My Library’. ‘Among the nineteenth-century social types studied by Walter Benjamin, the collector occupies a privileged place: collecting, rather more than *flânerie*, is the activity that most closely approximates that of the author in that collecting and especially (though not exclusively) book-collecting involves the retrieval and ordering of things past; [...]’. Naomi Schor. ‘Collecting Paris’. *The Cultures of Collecting*. 252-274. 252.

this.<sup>102</sup> This cryptic equation implies that in interior spaces, the arranged pieces therein can make one homesick, even within one's own home. By showcasing the dispossessed objects of their deceased collector, the interiors of Palazzo Martinengo and Orfei enunciate the absence of Marià Fortuny y Marsal, conjure a longing for 'a home beyond man's earliest memory'.<sup>103</sup> And it is this sense of presence that continually asserts both the presence and absence of their collector. The act of collecting, of assembling disparate pieces, of gathering memories, is a compensatory attempt to regain what was lost: a talismanic action against forgetting and loss.

Fortuny not only inherited the collection of his father's antiques, but he also continued its development by acquiring more pieces. As noted by Benjamin in a meditation on his own book collection, acquisition through inheritance enunciates the ability of the collection to be transferred and continued rather than disseminated:

Actually, inheritance is the soundest way of acquiring a collection. For a collector's attitude toward his possessions stems from an owner's feeling of responsibility toward his property. Thus it is, in the highest sense, the attitude of an heir, and the most distinguished trait of a collection will always be its transmissibility. [...] But one thing should be noted: the phenomenon of collecting loses its meaning as it loses its personal owner.<sup>104</sup>

The responsibility of the son, as heir, is to extend the memory of the father through his presence in the collection. It is the presence of the owner that gives meaning to the collection.

The impulse of collecting is directly linked with memory and desire: collecting is an effort to renew what is in the process of being forgotten. The sympathies of the collector are aligned with Benjamin's angel of history: 'His face is turned toward the past. [...] The angel would like to stay, awaken the dead, and make whole what has been smashed.'<sup>105</sup> Fortuny had this desire to resurrect the past in his work as well as his personal memory. Even when the destructive storm of passing time shredded antique fabrics into small scraps, as an artist Fortuny was recreating them anew in his velvet

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<sup>102</sup> Benjamin. 'The Interior, The Trace'. *The Arcades Project*. 218; quoting Søren Kierkegaard. *Stages on Life's Way*, trans. Walter Lowrie. (New York: Schocken) 1967. 30.

<sup>103</sup> Bachelard. *The Poetics of Space*. 5.

<sup>104</sup> Benjamin. 'Unpacking My Library'. *Illuminations*. 68.

<sup>105</sup> It continues: 'But a storm is blowing from Paradise; [...]. This storm irresistibly propels him into the future to which his back is turned. [...] This storm is what we call progress.' Benjamin. IX 'Theses on the Philosophy of History'. *Illuminations*. 249.

patterned cloaks, he ‘[made] whole what has been smashed.’ By decorating his salon, which functioned also as a showroom, with these antique fabrics next to his recreations, Fortuny showed their relationship to one another: that by studying the old ways of crafting garments he had been able to revive them, to phantasmagorically ‘awaken the dead’. Fortuny, like Benjamin’s angel of history, faced the past both as revivalist designer and collector. The impulse behind the work of collecting and in his re-created fashion and textile designs was the same: ‘To renew the old world- that is the collector’s deepest desire [...]’.<sup>106</sup>

In this way, the act of collecting plays against the chronological passing of time. The collector’s time is like Michel Serres’ time that flows but doesn’t flow.<sup>107</sup> Baudrillard evaluates how the collecting of objects disrupts the flow of time:

Not only do objects help us master the world, by virtue of their being inserted into practical sets, they also help us, *by virtue of their being inserted into mental sets*, to establish dominion over time, interrupting its continuous flow and classifying its parts in the same way that we classify habits, and insisting that it submit to the same constraints of association that inform the way we set things out in space.<sup>108</sup>

The gathering of collected objects, cohered through the spatial relationship arranged by their owner, brings together disparate times, resistant to chronology. Fortuny continued the collection of antiques started by his father, constructing an alternate temporality, a Bachelardian dream-space – like Benjamin who, after unpacking his library, drifted into memories of all the rooms that have once held his books;<sup>109</sup> like Proust’s narrator who in the beginning of *À la recherche* drifts in and out of sleep, recalling the rooms he has slept in by their decoration: ‘[...] it – my body – would recall from each room in succession the style of the bed, the position of the doors, the angle at

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<sup>106</sup> Benjamin. ‘Unpacking My Library’. *Illuminations*. 63.

<sup>107</sup> Serres. *Conversations on Science, Culture, and Time*. 58.

<sup>108</sup> Baudrillard. ‘The System of Collecting’. *The Cultures of Collecting*. 15.

<sup>109</sup> ‘Other thoughts fill me than the ones I am talking about- not thoughts but images, memories. Memories of the cities in which I found so many things: Riga, Naples, Munich, Danzig, Moscow, Florence, Basel, Paris; memories of Rosenthal’s sumptuous rooms in Munich, of the Danzig Stockturm where the late Hans Rhaue was domiciled, of Süssengut’s musty book cellar in North Berlin; memories of the rooms where these books had been housed, of my student’s den in Munich, of my room in Bern, of the solitude of Iseltwald on the Lake of Brienz, and finally of my boyhood room, the former location of only four or five of the several thousand volumes that are piled up around me. Oh the bliss of the collector, bliss of the man of leisure!’ Benjamin. ‘Unpacking My Library’. *Illuminations*. 68-69.

which the daylight came in at the windows, [...].'<sup>110</sup> These past rooms phantasmagorically inhabit the present space of the daydreamer. As Benjamin wrote in 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century (1939)', 'The collector proves to be the true resident of the interior. [...] The collector delights in evoking a world that is [...] distant and long gone [...].'<sup>111</sup>

Similarly when Proust conveyed many of the same themes he would later explore in *À la recherche*, in his preface to the French translation of John Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies* Proust describes the furnishings of the room in which he reads and how they affect him. In response to William Morris' claim that a room's beauty resulted from it containing only things that are useful, Proust replied that, 'To judge it by the principles of this aesthetics, my room was not beautiful at all, for it was full of things that could not be of any use', and that even those objects that might be useful would be difficult to find.<sup>112</sup> In congruence with this idea, Benjamin says that the collector creates a world 'in which things are *freed from the drudgery of being useful*.'<sup>113</sup>

These objects do not have a use-value in the same sense that a commodity does (or perhaps it should be said that objects in a collection are not collected *for* their use-value), but instead their value comes from their position within a system of collection and in achieving the larger purposes of the collection.<sup>114</sup> Arguably, remembrance is a function of any collection, but for Fortuny, Proust, and Benjamin especially, the collection is a catalyst for the work of memory and the work that memory produces.

Objects, once collected, lose their singularity and a cyclical time emerges in which the collection functions. The object's presence simultaneously points to its lack: that it is part of a larger group of objects comprising a collection. It is not the whole.<sup>115</sup> The work of a collection is portrayed in its lack: the collector is always moving towards

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<sup>110</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. I. 5.

<sup>111</sup> Benjamin. 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century (Exposé of 1939)'. *The Arcades Project*. 19.

<sup>112</sup> Proust. 'On Reading Ruskin'. 103.

<sup>113</sup> Benjamin. 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century (Exposé of 1939)'. *The Arcades Project*. 19. Emphasis mine.

<sup>114</sup> See: Benjamin. 'Unpacking My Library'. *Illuminations*. 63-64.

<sup>115</sup> 'Further, a single object can never be enough: invariably there will be a whole succession of objects and, at the extreme, a total set marking the accomplishment of a mission. This is why the possession of an object of whatever kind is always both satisfying and frustrating: the notion of there being a set of objects to which it belongs lends the object an extension beyond itself and upsets its solitary status.' Baudrillard. 'The System of Collecting'. *The Cultures of Collecting*. 8.



the completion of his collection by measuring what is lacking. ('What makes a collection transcend mere accumulation is not only the fact of its being culturally complex, but the fact of its incompleteness, the fact that it *lacks* something.'<sup>116</sup>) However, if a collection reaches completion, the collector no longer has the work of collecting to do, and the system he has been building becomes closed off even to himself. If indeed the collector does imbue his subjectivity into the collected objects via possession, when it is finished so too is his animistic existence in these objects.<sup>117</sup> But perhaps before continuing, we first need to investigate how the collection becomes an extension of its collector.

On a basic level, the primary action of a collector is possession. In the pieced together quotes making up Benjamin's chapter on 'The Collector', between the two times that Marx's 'an object is *ours* only when we have it [...]'<sup>118</sup> appears, there is a quote from Henri Lefebvre's *La Conscience mystifiée* that explains why the collector's desire to possess is not solely about accumulation: 'To appropriate to oneself an object is to render it sacred and redoubtable to others; it is to make it "participate" in oneself.'<sup>119</sup> The bourgeois construction of phantasmagoric interior spaces depended on the belief that one could project the self outward into objects and, reciprocally, that one's possessions reverberated with their reflected being.<sup>120</sup> The crux of Baudrillard's theory of the psychology of collecting depends on this point, leading him to write that the extension of self into the collection is 'indeed the whole miracle of collecting.'<sup>121</sup>

He continues on: 'For it is invariably *oneself* that one collects. [...]: a given collection is made up of a succession of terms, but the final term must always be the person of the collector.'<sup>122</sup> Then, if Fortuny's collection has been the collection of his

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<sup>116</sup> Baudrillard. 'The System of Collecting'. *The Cultures of Collecting*. 23.

<sup>117</sup> Put another way: 'To give pleasure, the collector's object of desire must implicitly refer to a series. [...] - the series must always remain open, for lack is the guarantor of life: to complete the series is to die.' Schor. 'Collecting Paris'. *The Cultures of Collecting*. 258.

<sup>118</sup> Benjamin. 'The Collector'. *The Arcades Project*. 209, 210; quoting Karl Marx. 'Nationalökonomie und Philosophie'. *Der historische Materialismus*. Vol. 1, 300.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.* 210; quoting N. Guterman and H. Lefebvre. *La Conscience mystifiée*. (Paris) 1936. 228.

<sup>120</sup> See: Benjamin. 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century' particularly the introduction to the 1939 version. *The Arcades Project*. 14-26. 'Corresponding to these phantasmagorias of the market, where people appear only as types, are the phantasmagorias of the interior, which are constituted by man's imperious need to leave the imprint of his private existence on the rooms he inhabits.' 41.

<sup>121</sup> Baudrillard. 'The System of Collecting'. *The Cultures of Collecting*. 12.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.* 12.

father, is continuation of the collection an effort to possess the father, or possibly to become him? Fortuny's antiques are missing their original collector, his father. The collection did not end, but yet continued with Fortuny the son, who then is to become the final term in the collection, the position meant to be held by his missing father. Fortuny, in continuing the collection of his father, acknowledges its incompleteness: an incompleteness that mirrors the premature ending of his father's life when his children had yet to grow up. By continuing to add to the collection, Fortuny prevented its completion and kept the work of remembering his father, its original collector, active. He assumed the role of his father as the collector, where, (following Baudrillard) perhaps, the final term of his father's collection is still the father. Fortuny's continuation of his father's collection of antiques and textiles is part of the work of mourning the absent father (or daydreaming of him), by perpetuating the previous owner's taste for the aged and foreign. Fortuny's exotic costumes and décor, then, are part of an elegiac re-enactment of his own father's 19<sup>th</sup>-century colonial Orientalism. Perhaps it is Fortuny's desire to become his father that directs his desire for the exotic. It is not just the collection he wants to restore, but the impossible resurrective presence of the father.

## Studio

As we have seen, Benjamin in 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century' enunciates the phantasmagoric nature of the dream-world of bourgeois interiors. He goes on to say that 'the phantasmagorias of the interior – [...], for the private individual, represents the universe. In the interior, he brings together remote locales and memories of the past. His living room is a box in the theatre of the world.'<sup>123</sup> We have seen where Fortuny's *portego* spaces brought together these 'remote locales and memories of the past', but Fortuny's rooms were not boxes to watch the theatre of the world, but instead, they were rooms used to conjure theatres of the world. (The inventions in this room are examined in 'Phantasmagoric Machines', but they will be briefly introduced here for a discussion of how they contribute to the phantasmagoric nature of Fortuny's studio space.)

In his first floor studio space, Fortuny quite literally made phantasmagoric theatres. (Fig. 5) It was here that he created his model for the Bayreuth Theatre in 1903,

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<sup>123</sup> Benjamin. 'Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century (Exposé of 1939)'. *The Arcades Project*. 19.

with his patented ‘Fortuny dome’ onto which coloured lights would be blended to create atmospheric Wagnerian scenes. (Fig. 2, Plates 4-6) This is the room that the Italian journalist entered in 1932 when he ‘saw the sky, a real sky, in calm and stormy weather, extending all round a vast amphitheatre.’<sup>124</sup> The astonishment felt by this reporter at the conjuring of these scenes within a ‘shut up room’ of the palazzo is not far removed from the distress felt by Proust’s narrator in his childhood bedroom with his magic lantern. In the opening reminiscence of his different bedrooms, the Narrator recalls how his childhood bedroom used to be transformed by a magic lantern showing the ‘supernatural phenomena of many colours, in which legends were depicted as on a shifting and transitory window.’<sup>125</sup> To his distress, these projected stories invaded the familiarity of his own bedroom: ‘I cannot express the discomfort I felt at this intrusion of mystery and beauty [...]’<sup>126</sup> Here the narrator’s bedroom is not the comfortable bourgeois theatre box from which to watch the world, but the theatre stage has invaded the privacy and calm of his bedroom. The invading images of the magic lantern are a metaphor for how the narrator’s memories of other spaces have phantasmagorically superimposed themselves onto the present spaces, just as Proust described for his own room in ‘On Reading’<sup>127</sup>. These spaces within the home were made into theatrical, dream-like spaces through projected light.

It was also in this first floor studio that Fortuny created an idealised revival of Ancient Greek theatre, as planned with D’Annunzio and Lucien Hesse in 1912. (Figs. 11-13) The *Teatro della Feste* was meant to resurrect not only the architecture of the Classical theatre but, through the influence of Wagner’s Hellenism, its romanticised impetus as well. Both of these models were so large and fragile that they were never moved from the studio until 2012, when their electric components were restored.<sup>128</sup>

In addition to these scale models for outdoor theatres, Fortuny also designed a full-sized mobile theatre that was installed inside the home of Parisian patron, Comtesse de Béarn.<sup>129</sup> Comprised of a completely collapsible cyclorama, Fortuny’s invention allowed the stage to enter a domestic interior space. Fortuny’s cyclorama was a domed

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<sup>124</sup> Tumiati. ‘Il mio vicino mago’; quoted in de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 24-25.

<sup>125</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. I. 10.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.* Vol I. 11.

<sup>127</sup> See: Mavor. *Reading Boyishly*. 334.

<sup>128</sup> Claudio Franzini. Interviewed by author. Palazzo Fortuny. 25 January 2012.

<sup>129</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 12.

wire-framed quarter-sphere, wrapped on both the inside and outside with fabric held together by suction.<sup>130</sup> (Fig. 32)

Proust also brought performance into the intimate spaces of his house when he subscribed to the théâtrophone service, which allowed those at home to experience live opera by listening through a telephone.<sup>131</sup> This is a sensory extension of the magic lantern that transformed his young narrator's bedroom into a space of performance.<sup>132</sup> In fact, the lenses of the magic lantern that allow for theatrical effects of motion are called 'stages'. And in an inversion of the magic lantern, Fortuny's machine for testing stage lighting is a box in which light is not projected outward into the room, but inward, like the travelling peep show. (Figs. 33-34) The phantasmagoric spaces created by these indoor performances will be further examined in the chapter 'Phantasmagoric Machines'.

To conclude this section on Fortuny's studio, let us briefly look to his painting. As opposed to the open salon areas in the *portego*, Fortuny's studio space on the first floor was used less for the display of the antique collection and mainly for the construction of models for his theatre and lighting designs as well for painting on canvases and the walls themselves. (Plates 14a, b, Fig. 18) Fortuny began decorating his studio in 1915 with a mural depicting 'The Embrace of Sigmund and Sieglinde' from Act I of Wagner's *Die Walküre* (the second opera in *The Ring* cycle). Loosely following his design programme for the studio walls, Fortuny also painted various allegorical scenes on paper and pasted them to the other walls. (Plate 15a, b) Some scenes were left unfinished, with portions still showing the preparatory sketches.<sup>133</sup> These studio murals are only a small fraction of Wagnerian scenes and allegorical figures that Fortuny would paint throughout his career.<sup>134</sup> Unfortunately, it is not within the scope of this thesis to fully examine Fortuny's paintings, though it is an area ripe for study and worthy of significant treatment – especially since the artist identified himself as firstly a painter.

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<sup>130</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 77-78. This invention will be examined In 'Phantasmagoric Machines'.

<sup>131</sup> Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 179.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.* 186-187.

<sup>133</sup> The Museo Fortuny dates the murals 1915-1928.

<sup>134</sup> Fortuny photographed many of his paintings for documentation and collected them in an album held in the library at Palazzo Fortuny.

### *Secondo Piano Nobile*

Beginning around 1907, the open area of the palazzo's second floor was used for finishing Fortuny's patterned cloaks, dresses, and scarves. His cotton textile fabrics used for furnishings and draperies were not produced within his palazzo, but at the factory he would later purchase on the nearby island of Giudecca in 1919.<sup>135</sup> (Fig. 35) Fortuny garments were produced exclusively at Palazzo Orfei, separating the manufacture of dress from that of furnishing. Eventually Fortuny oversaw the work at the factory while his wife took over a large part of creating and managing the production of the silk and velvet clothes.<sup>136</sup>

These working spaces for Fortuny were very different from the work that took place in the library of Palazzo Orfei. Though the implementation of his designs was carried out in the factory and the open spaces of the upper floors of his palazzo, the library was the laboratory where plans were made after extensive research and experiments were conducted. (Fig. 36, Plate 20) The contents of Fortuny's library are varied and reflect the wide range of his interests. Some of the more personal items in his inherited collection were housed in the library, such as sculpture busts of his father, grandfather and cousin.<sup>137</sup> The presence of his father through Fortuny's inherited collection is more palpable in images made of his likeness. The bust of Marià Fortuny y Marsal was sculpted by friend and notable sculptor Vincenzo Gemito (1852-1929) in Naples during one of his stays there.<sup>138</sup> This sculpture was also duplicated and kept in Fortuny's palazzo – the father's presence multiplied. The most mournful depiction of the father is the death mask made in 1874 by Geronimo Suñol Pujol (1840-1902), an indexical sign of the father's passing. (Fig. 27) This object in the collection is an obvious marker of the loss of the father. Unlike the other objects, which imbue presence because they were once the father's – *he touched* them, the death mask invokes presence because *it touched* the father just after the moment of transition between presence and absence. Fortuny had only two other death masks in his collection: one of Wagner, who would exert the most sustained influence over the wide spectrum of Fortuny's oeuvre; and one of Ludwig van Beethoven that belonged to his father. On his deathbed, Marià sketched

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<sup>135</sup> Franzini. 'Breve biografia di un arcano maestro del tessuto'. *Mariano Fortuny: la seta & il velluto*. 110.

<sup>136</sup> See: 'Pleated Time'.

<sup>137</sup> Though items are dispersed throughout the museum now, I examined the contents of the library through the photographs Fortuny had taken of this space.

<sup>138</sup> Franzini. Interview. 25 January 2012.

the death mask of his own beloved German composer, Beethoven. These objects created an atmosphere devoted to the work of memory, the work of mourning in Fortuny's palazzo.<sup>139</sup>

### **Library as laboratory**

In addition to using his own physical collection for historical inspiration, Fortuny also studied the history of art and design through his collection of books. On the second floor of Palazzo Orfei, Fortuny created a library in a room just off to the side of the *portego*. (Plate 20) The library is still preserved today in Museo Fortuny, as he had it organised. To accommodate his large collection, he installed custom-built large bookcases along the walls and standalone shelves beneath the tables in the centre of the room. Fortuny had an immense number of books on the fine arts, decorative arts, architecture, landscape, and costume designs of several different places and eras. These books, often published by museums or art/historical associations with numerous illustrations, were (and still are) organised by language. The majority are in French and Italian, but he also had several volumes in German, Spanish, and a few in English. In addition to books on travel, philosophy, science, photography, theatre, and a couple of novels, his library covers the vast range of visual influences from which he drew: Ancient Roman, Greek, and Egyptian temples and sculpture; Northern and Italian Renaissance painting; Medieval European costume; Japanese, Chinese, African, Indian, and Afghani decorative arts; Islamic architecture; the collections of the British Museum and the Louvre, amongst others.<sup>140</sup>

Fortuny was deeply aware and interested in the arts of other cultures, both geographically distant and from distant times. In addition to his collection of published books, he also made his own volumes of collected images for study. (Plates 21a, b) He collected photographic reproductions of paintings, costumes, armour, architectural ornamentation, and decorative art objects and grouped them by place of origin, time

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<sup>139</sup> Sigmund Freud uses the phrase 'work of mourning' to refer to the active process of mourning in: 'Mourning and Melancholia'. *Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*. 24 vols. ed. and trans. James Strachey. (London: Hogarth) 1953-1974. Vol. XIV. 237-260.

<sup>140</sup> Unfortunately a full catalogue of Fortuny's library was not yet finished at the submission of this thesis. However, I am tremendously grateful to Cristina da Roit for searching the library and existing records for publications, and for scanning some of the books to send to me when I could not get to Venice.

period, or theme and bound them together, with the help of his wife, into more than 200 albums. These albums, which are still held in the personal library of his former home, provide a glimpse into his visual lexicon: a catalogue of influences. The carefully organised albums carry patterns and forms that reappear in his textile and clothing designs.<sup>141</sup>

His albums of reproductions included: Venetian Renaissance painters; Ancient Egyptian, Greek, and Indian sculpture and architecture; European gardens; antique Persian armour; German costume; and various smaller groupings of European painters. They were carefully assembled and organised, and there are decipherable traces of how the collected images correspondingly influenced specific areas of his work. For example, the ‘Bellini, Carpaccio, Mansueti’ album contains many close-ups of painted textiles, whereas the ‘Tiziano, Giorgione’ album’s reproductions focus on the figural gestures in the compositions – the influence of which can be seen in Fortuny’s own allegorical murals.<sup>142</sup> Fortuny’s sketchbooks for dress and cape designs contain architectural details (Greek capitals, Kūfic script on Arabic temples...) to be translated into fabric patterns: a curious variant of how Proust’s narrator says he will build his novel like a church, but then later he says he will construct it like a dress.<sup>143</sup>

Fortuny’s fabric-covered albums, full of photo-reproductions, functioned like Benjamin’s collected quotes for *The Arcades Project* that he would organise, store, reference, and cite them directly within his own work. The work of both Benjamin and Fortuny began with the work of collecting. Due to Benjamin’s tragic death, *The Arcades Project* remains in its unfinished state as an assembled, ordered collection of quotations with sparse bits of his own commentary. In Hannah Arendt’s introduction to *Illuminations*, she notes how Benjamin shifted from collecting books (as in ‘Unpacking My Library’) to collecting quotes, of which he boasted having more than 600.<sup>144</sup>

[N]othing was more characteristic of him in the thirties than the little notebooks with black covers which he always carried with him and in which he tirelessly entered in the form of quotations what daily living and reading netted him in the way of ‘pearls’ and ‘coral.’ On occasion he read from

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<sup>141</sup> The next chapter, ‘Pleated Time’, contains analyses of the influence of some of these collected images on his textile and clothing designs.

<sup>142</sup> Again, this is unfortunately outside the scope of this thesis, but could be part of a larger research project on Fortuny’s painting.

<sup>143</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. VI. 507-509.

<sup>144</sup> Hannah Arendt. ‘Introduction’. *Illuminations*. 49, 51.

them aloud, showed them around like items from a choice and precious collection.<sup>145</sup>

*Walter Benjamin's Archive* (first published in German in 2006) beautifully presents what survives of Benjamin's archive of writings, photographs, and postcards as images and transcriptions.<sup>146</sup> As noted by Arendt, Benjamin was known for his persistent use of notebooks to catalogue quotations that he planned to use as epigraphs or starting points in his own essays.<sup>147</sup>

In her writing on the open-endedness of some seemingly infinite collections, Susan Stewart writes that, 'Here we might also remember Walter Benjamin's project of collecting quotations, a collection which would illustrate the infinite and regenerative seriality of language itself.'<sup>148</sup> Several of his notebooks are filled with lists. Though the notebooks were certainly of direct use to Benjamin in his writing, the copious lists and compilations reveal his passion for collecting textual fragments. Benjamin kept a notebook listing everything he had read since secondary school.<sup>149</sup> He wrote bibliographies for various subjects and kept an up-to-date list of the contents of his apartment with a separate inventory for his book collection.<sup>150</sup> He had a 'collection of epigraphs', a 'Catalogue of My Published Works', and a 'Catalogue of Curious Book Titles'.<sup>151</sup> Several of Benjamin's notebooks were not for taking notes, but for collecting.

Roland Barthes talks about the pleasure in collecting these fragments in his own fragmentary assemblage of texts in the autobiographical book, *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes*.<sup>152</sup> The way Barthes describes himself in the third person resonates with Benjamin who never stopped collecting his own textual fragments.

Liking to find, to write *beginnings*, he tends to multiply this pleasure: that is why he writes fragments: so many fragments, so many beginnings, so many pleasures (but he doesn't like ends [...]).<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.* 49-50.

<sup>146</sup> *Walter Benjamin's Archive: Images, Texts, Signs*. Trans. Esther Leslie. Eds. Ursula Marx, Gudrun Schwarz, Michael Schwarz, Erdmut Wizisla. (London and New York: Verso) 2007. I am grateful to Jenna Ashton for recommending this book.

<sup>147</sup> Arendt. 'Introduction' *Illuminations*. 49-50; 'Dantiest Quarters. Notebooks' *Walter Benjamin's Archive*. 151-170.

<sup>148</sup> Susan Stewart. *On Longing*. 156.

<sup>149</sup> 'Tree of Conscientiousness'. *Walter Benjamin's Archive*. 8.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.* 10. 'Dantiest Quarters' *Walter Benjamin's Archive*. 152-153.

<sup>152</sup> Roland Barthes. *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes*. Trans. Richard Howard. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press) 1994.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.* 94.



For Barthes, the collecting of fragments is a deferral of endings. Benjamin was accused of a similar fear of endings while working on his *Arcades Project*. In a letter to Benjamin, Adorno repeats that his wife, ‘Gretel once jokingly remarked that you dwell in the cavernous depths of your Arcades and that you shrink from completing the study because you are afraid of leaving what you have built.’<sup>154</sup>

Benjamin’s *Arcades Project* is the textual equivalent of Fortuny’s visual albums, his collection of references where pieces are collected and assembled into a ‘magic encyclopedia’, a compendium of citations.<sup>155</sup> Fortuny’s reproductions are like accumulated snapshots taken from disparate points along the long narrative of the history of art, just as Benjamin’s collected quotes are like snapshots of the texts from which they are taken. Fortuny’s albums of photographic reproductions and Benjamin’s quotations were ever-growing collections utilised as catalysts for work. In *Reading Boyishly*, Carol Mavor links Benjamin’s work as a collector-writer to Proust’s working method: ‘Benjamin’s transpositioned approach is, perhaps, best exemplified by the collectomania of his never-ending, unfinished *The Arcades Project* – a Cornelian, Proustian endeavor if there ever was one.’<sup>156</sup> For his own ever-expanding library, Fortuny had to add another tier of shelving on top of his bookcases, to which he attached screen-panels of blue fabric he had printed with Arabic script.<sup>157</sup> (Plate 20) His fabric-covered albums, used as references for his textile designs, were protected behind a fabric-covered bookcase. One of Benjamin’s surviving writing fragments also evokes the texture of textiles. (Fig 37) One of his many lists was composed on two separate leafs of paper that have been stitched together.<sup>158</sup> These sewn together pages resonate with the image conjured by Proust’s narrator’s comment that he will build his book like a dress.<sup>159</sup> The narrator of *À la recherche* says that when the various pages of his manuscript would start to fall apart after he attempted to paste in additional sheets of text, his housemaid Françoise ‘would be able to come to my help, by consolidating them just as she stitched patches on to the worn

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<sup>154</sup> Letter 110, Adorno to Benjamin. [New York] 10 November 1938. *The Complete Correspondence 1928-1940/Theodore Adorno and Walter Benjamin*. 285.

<sup>155</sup> Benjamin. ‘The Collector’. *The Arcades Project*. 207.

<sup>156</sup> Mavor. *Reading Boyishly*. 357.

<sup>157</sup> Claudio Franzini. Interviewed by author. Palazzo Fortuny. 22 June 2011.

<sup>158</sup> ‘Tree of Conscientiousness’. *Walter Benjamin’s Archive*. 9. The book editors suggest it was likely done by Benjamin himself.

<sup>159</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. VI. 509-510.

parts of her dresses...'.<sup>160</sup> Proust's own manuscripts also had pages joined together, but his added sheets were not sewn, nor rolled – as their name *paperolles* suggests.<sup>161</sup> (Fig. 38) Proust's extra pages were folded in, like a pleated Fortuny gown.<sup>162</sup>

Like Fortuny, Proust himself had fabric-covered albums of collected photographs. Proust, like his narrator, studied many major works of art through the photographic medium of reproductions. Photography provided him visual access to many of the artworks he could not travel to see because of his ill health.<sup>163</sup> Like Fortuny, he would study these reproductions to incorporate them into his own work (as we will see more specifically in the next chapter with the example of Carpaccio). Interestingly, for Proust's narrator, who yearns to see Italy through more than black and white reproductions, Venice is one of the only things hoped and longed for that is not disappointing in reality.<sup>164</sup>

Also for use in his novel, Proust collected photographs of people that inspired his characters. In a beautiful incarnation of the intertwined nature of photography, dress, and memory, Lucien Daudet, a friend to the French author, describes when Proust showed him an album of these photographs:

he said: "Here, I've collected a few photographs of famous people, actresses, writers, artists – they may entertain you, and also this book." I glanced at the portraits... and I leafed through the book, which contained a quantity of photographs of Madame Laure Hayman and was bound in a piece of silk from one of her old dresses. [...].<sup>165</sup>

Laure Hayman, the fashionable courtesan, became one of the models for the character of Odette.<sup>166</sup> Proust's collection of photographs was an incitement to the memory-work of writing *À la recherche*.<sup>167</sup>

The writing of Proust's novel itself has been evaluated through the lens of photography.<sup>168</sup> In his book *Proust in the Power of Photography*, Brassai first assesses

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<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.* 510.

<sup>161</sup> In English, this term, 'quilling', refers to a folk art technique of tightly rolling of paper.

<sup>162</sup> Céleste Albaret was the seamstress of Proust's pages.

<sup>163</sup> Brassai. *Proust in the Power of Photography*. 29.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.* 43.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.* 12; quoting *Cahiers Marcel Proust*, no. 5. This was not the only time she would have books bound for him in her silk garments: Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 83. The relationship between fabric and photography will be further explored in the fourth chapter, 'Tessuti'.

<sup>166</sup> Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 83; Brassai. *Proust in the Power of Photography*. 26.

<sup>167</sup> Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 199-200.

Proust's writing space as a photographer's studio where, through photographs, his acquaintances pose for him to capture their likeness in his novel.<sup>169</sup> Even more so, it is the fundamental temporal dimension of photography that so strongly links Proust to the medium of photography. As Brassai states in the introduction to his project of reading Proust through photography:

I shall add that in his battle against Time, that enemy of our precarious existence, ever on the offensive though never openly so, it was in photography, also born of an age-old longing to halt the moment, to wrest it from the flux of "durée" in order to "fix" it forever in a semblance of eternity, that Proust found his best ally.<sup>170</sup>

In Proust's aim to regain lost time (*temps retrouvé*), photography's power to arrest images from the flow of time proves an appropriate metaphor and practical tool –like Eadweard Muybridge's serial photographs taken of humans and animals in motion. Mieke Bal, in *The Mottled Screen: Reading Proust Visually*, compares portions of Proust's novel to these Muybridge photographs, which Fortuny happened to study in his own library.<sup>171</sup>

Brassai concludes his book on Proust and photography by considering the author's bedroom as a darkroom, the place where the photographer retreats from the world to transform the negatives he has collected, to develop and fix them.<sup>172</sup>

Like the photographer, who, loaded with images he has managed to wrest from light, withdraws to a dark place in order to bring them to visibility, so Proust elaborates his work, sequestered in what he often called "my darkroom."<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Most notably Brassai. *Proust in the Power of Photography*; Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*; Mieke Bal. *The Mottled Screen: Reading Proust Visually*. Trans. Anna-Louise Milne. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press) 1997; Gabrielle Townsend. 'Proust and photography – portraits and imagery'. *Proust's Imaginary Museum*. 99-150.

<sup>169</sup> Brassai. *Proust in the Power of Photography*. 99-101.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.* xi.

<sup>171</sup> Bal. *The Mottled Screen. op.cit.* 214-237. These books are held in Fortuny's library. Eadweard Muybridge. *Animals in motion: an electro-photographic investigation of consecutive phases of animal progressive movements*. (London: Chapman and Hall) 1899. [A16.7]. and Eadweard Muybridge. *The Human Figure in Motion: an electro-photographic investigation of consecutive phases of muscular actions*. (London: Chapman and Hall) 1901. [A16.6]

<sup>172</sup> Brassai. *Proust in the Power of Photography*. 139. This is also one of the key themes of Fuss' chapter on Proust. *The Sense of an Interior*. 195-202.

<sup>173</sup> Brassai. *Proust in the Power of Photography*. 140.

In the next section of this chapter, we will look at Proust's bedroom as darkroom and how this metaphor illuminates Fortuny's own custom-designed darkroom.

### **Darkroom Replications and Inversions**<sup>174</sup>

Proust's utilisation of the technical aspects of photography in his novel suggest a detailed knowledge of the medium. His friend Fernand Gregh, in his book *Mon amitié avec Marcel Proust*, describes an incident Proust once had in a darkroom. 'I was to see him again at Madame Straus's, where one day, while we were developing photographs in the darkroom, Bizet and I heard a strange sound – Proust had apparently fainted in a corner of the room for some mysterious reason.'<sup>175</sup> This fainting Proust is not too unlike his anxious young narrator in his dark bedroom illuminated only by the moving projections of the magic lantern.<sup>176</sup> Nevertheless, Proust himself would metaphorically become the magic lantern operator; the darkroom printer who reversed, reordered, and reconfigured images and interiors to revive the past.

From within his bedroom full of memory-objects, Proust wrote his massive tome on the *Search for Lost Time* in darkness. His cork-lined walls, installed for soundproofing, were eventually blackened by the smoke from frequently burning his asthma papers.<sup>177</sup> Proust's devoted assistant and housekeeper Céleste Albaret described entering his bedroom during his usual nocturnal working hours: '... his face was hidden in the shadows and the smoke from the fumigation, completely invisible except for the eyes looking at me – and I felt rather than saw them...'<sup>178</sup> Albaret's description sounds strikingly similar to a popular image from early magic lantern shows, where in a dark room only a pair of eyes was illuminated, and then animated by moving the slide back and forth to horrify observers.<sup>179</sup> Albaret even nicknamed Proust 'the magician', as he had learned conjuring tricks from Ernest Forssgren, a servant and son of an amateur

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<sup>174</sup> I am grateful to the Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation for Research in Venice for funding my research trip to Museo Fortuny in August 2013 to investigate Fortuny's darkroom. Thanks also to the museum for access to this closed space and specifically to Cristina Da Roit and Claudio Franzini for their assistance.

<sup>175</sup> Quoted in Brassai. *Proust in the Power of Photography*. 135.

<sup>176</sup> Brassai. *Proust in the Power of Photography*. 136.

<sup>177</sup> Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior. op.cit.* 154. Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 258.

<sup>178</sup> Albaret. *Monsieur Proust*. 16; as quoted in: Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 204.

<sup>179</sup> Mervyn Heard. 'Peerless Magic Lantern Show: Phantasmagoria Evaluation'. John Rylands University Library, Manchester. 9 November 2010.

magician.<sup>180</sup> These smoky, dark spaces from which Proust and Fortuny worked were phantasmagoric spaces where the past was revived. They are ghostly (*phantasm*) spaces (*goria*).

Another ‘magician’ who loved Fortuny’s fabrics, Italian pilot and poet Gabrielle D’Annunzio, wrote in darkness from within a house he moulded to be a living memorial, a site for reviving the past – or reinventing it. D’Annunzio’s vision was seriously impaired following the loss of his right eye in a war accident.<sup>181</sup> Initially, his condition forced him to convalesce in the dark where he continued his writing by composing in small fragments on strips of paper a book about the horrors of war and suffering titled *Notturmo* (*Nocturne*).<sup>182</sup> Years later, in 1921, still plagued by photophobia, D’Annunzio would acquire and begin remodelling a large villa on the shore of Lake Garda. He named the residence, ‘*Il Vittoriale degli Italiani*’ as a statement of its purpose – to restore Italy to its former days through the act of memorialising its victorious military history in his ‘theatre of memory’.<sup>183</sup> *Il Vittoriale* has been preserved after the poet/pilot left it to the Italian State as a gift to the people. Like Fortuny’s palazzo, D’Annunzio’s villa is filled with antiques, curiosities, copious amounts of textiles, Murano glass, reproductions of classical art and other specifically commissioned works of art. However, where the brilliant Venetian light bursts in to the open spaces of Palazzo Fortuny, D’Annunzio’s rooms remain dark; and where Fortuny’s palazzo was once declared neutral ground,<sup>184</sup> *Il Vittoriale* was (and still is) politically explosive. An architectural historian has said, ‘The Vittoriale is at once the tomb, the Luna Park and the sinister torture chamber of Fascism.’<sup>185</sup> Deathliness is everywhere within *Il Vittoriale*: the steering wheel from a fatal car crash along with a lock of hair from its victim, an enormous stuffed turtle on the dining room table said to have died from overeating, a room of fragmentary relics, D’Annunzio’s displaced dead right eyeball, a coffin in the ‘leper’s room’ for the contemplation of the mortification of the body, a framed piece of human skin, and the

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<sup>180</sup> Albaret. *Monsieur Proust*. 8; as quoted in Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 250.

<sup>181</sup> Lucia Re. ‘Gabriele D’Annunzio’s Theatre of Memory: Il Vittoriale degli Italiani.’ *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*. Vol. 3 (Winter, 1987). 6-51. 24.

<sup>182</sup> His daughter prepared these paper strips for him while they stayed in Venice. *Ibid.* 24.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.* 6. I am grateful to Paul Clinton for pointing me to *Il Vittoriale*, and to Kendal Smith for taking me there in August 2012.

<sup>184</sup> Deschodt and Poli. *Magician of Venice*. 53.

<sup>185</sup> Fred Licht. ‘The Vittoriale degli Italiani’. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. Vol. 41, no. 4 (Dec. 1982). 318-324. 318. *Il Vittoriale* is also a space of overwhelming eroticism.

massive, too-white angular tombs that comprise the mausoleum at the highest point of the site for the burial of those who died at Fiume, and for the poet himself.<sup>186</sup>

The dark spaces of Fortuny and Proust were not memorialising spaces of deathliness, but of phantasmagoric revival, of replication and inversion. Through a door on the second floor, Fortuny's darkroom could be accessed up a half-flight of stairs, and had a much lower ceiling than the open spaces of the palazzo. (Fig. 21) Here he would study old master paintings from his collection of slides, projecting them onto the darkroom wall. Proust's close friend Reynaldo Hahn (who was brother-in-law to Fortuny's uncle Raymundo) sat here with Fortuny as the latter showed images of the Sistine Chapel frescoes. In his published journal made up of assembled bits of writing from his travel diary, Hahn records that Fortuny opened his eyes to appreciate Michelangelo:

Tonight at Mariano's, after dining with Madame de Polignac. Light projections of Michelangelo in the Sistine chapel. I confess, I have had a revelation. I had not believed there was so much genius in this work! I will return. But, at present, I apologise for sometimes likening Michelangelo to Beethoven. Ah! How the latter is dwarfed in my eyes by the broadening [*agrandissement*] of yesterday!<sup>187</sup>

Fortuny's vast collection of slides of Michelangelo's work is still scattered about the cordoned off darkroom, now covered in a layer of dust.

Not only did Fortuny study art history from these slides, he reproduced the images, magnifying them and blowing them up to enormous sizes.<sup>188</sup> Like George Méliès' 1903 film *La Lanterne Magique* where toys in a nursery are exponentially duplicated by climbing into a magic lantern, Fortuny's darkroom enlarger magically multiplied these images from the history of art. The mechanics of this relentless repetition will be further explored in the chapter on Fortuny's 'Phantasmagoric Machines'.

Both Fortuny's darkroom and Proust's dark[bed]room were spaces of inversions. Though all darkrooms might be seen as spaces of inversion – the negative image turning into a positive one – through his manipulations, Fortuny reversed many characteristic

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<sup>186</sup> Fred Licht. 'The Vittoriale degli Italiani'. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*. 323-324; Lucia Re. 'Gabriele D'Annunzio's Theatre of Memory 12, 34, 40; Some of this information also comes from the guides on site at Il Vittoriale from my visit in August 2012. Fiume was the territory that D'Annunzio controversially tried to reclaim for Italy.

<sup>187</sup> Hahn. Part II, 'Rome, Venise, Londres, Bucarest, Berlin' *Notes: Journal d'un musicien*. My translation.

<sup>188</sup> Claudio Franzini. Interviewed by author. Palazzo Fortuny. 30 August. 2013.

elements of the medium of photography. He inverted the purpose of a large-format camera by turning it into an enlarger that printed horizontally, rather than vertically. Not only are the axes switched in his darkroom printing, but also in his picture taking where Fortuny experimented with contact print photographs that are exposed with no light at all. These enigmatic, haptic prints will be examined in ‘*Tessuti*’.

Following *À la recherche*, Brassai pulls together Proust’s analogy of lived experiences as photographic negatives, which are only truly understood after they have been reversed, developed.

Many of Proust’s metaphors identify certain operations of memory with photographic techniques. Thus the ‘true impressions’ of our life, which are entirely hidden, ‘need to be translated and often read in reverse and painfully deciphered. ... We live, we have experiences, but what we have experienced is like certain photographs which reveal nothing by blackness until they are brought close to a lamp, and which must be examined “in reverse”: we do not know what is there until we have not brought it into proximity with the intelligence’ (*Time Regained*). And in the same passage: ‘People do not see “real life” because they make no effort to illuminate it. And so their past is encumbered with countless snapshots, which remain useless because the intelligence has not developed them.’<sup>189</sup>

The theme of inversion runs throughout Proust’s novel; specifically inverted vision (peering in/looking out), inverted reality (artifice and experience) and inverted desires (closeted and open homosexuality).

Like negatives turned to positive prints in the darkroom, Proust in his dark bedroom inverted several of his characters. The sustained inversion of *À la recherche* is the narrator’s reversal of chronological time, where the end turns out to be a beginning (the narrator decides to write a novel about memory). Similarly, Wagner wrote his lengthy opus in reverse, scripting the four libretti for *The Ring* cycle from the end only to compose its music forwards again, developing its aural leitmotifs.<sup>190</sup> Thomas Mann says that after beginning by writing Siegfried’s death,

He [Wagner] felt an overpowering need to bring that previous history within the sphere of his sense-appeal, and so he began to write backwards: first *Young Siegfried*, then the *Valkyrie*, then the *Rheingold*. He rested not until he had reduced the past to the present and brought it all upon the stage – in four evenings, everything from the primitive cell,

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<sup>189</sup> Brassai. *Proust in the Power of Photography*. 133-134.

<sup>190</sup> Millington. *Richard Wagner: The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. 88.

the primeval beginnings, the first E-flat major of the bass  
bassoon at the commencement of the overture to the  
*Rheingold* [...].<sup>191</sup>

The writing of Wagner's *Ring* is like Proust's *Search* that is being narrated backwards. Both have the structural device of the *leitmotiv*, where the involuntary memory or the musical phrase or dissonant chord is repeated – purposely planted to pleat together these arduously long, sometimes breathless, sometimes boring works. Proust's reader may be able to sympathise with Nietzsche's complaint that Wagner 'is surely the impolitest of all geniuses: he takes his hearer, as it were, and keeps on saying a thing until in desperation one believes it.'<sup>192</sup>

Brassai explains how Proust's *leitmotifs*, when read through the metaphor of photography, function as 'developers', bringing the positive image into view.

How could a man who had made it his 'nourishment and his delight' to establish the 'common point,' 'the delicate harmony,' 'the shared essence' between two objects fail to comprehend the profound affinity between the developing bath which integrally restores an image from the past and those other 'developers,' the Madeleine and the cup of tea, the uneven cobblestones, the starched napkin, the boot, the spoon tapping a plate, the copy of *François le Champi*, all able to call into being remote reminiscences?<sup>193</sup>

These Proustian 'developers' are part of the lexicon that the Deleuzian apprenticeship to Proust's signs uses to develop readings of *À la recherche*. (Deleuze says Proust's reader must be an Egyptologist, apprenticing himself to the reoccurring hieroglyphic signs.)<sup>194</sup> But perhaps more so, it is Venice that for the narrator decodes his desires and the events leading up to his own self-discovery when in the final volume he is reminded of stumbling upon the paving stones in front of S. Mark's.<sup>195</sup> It is the same for Fortuny's work. The architectural ornamentation in Venice, the bell-ringer statues on the clock tower in Saint Mark's square, the clothing worn in the Venetian Renaissance paintings held in the Accademia: they all make appearances in Fortuny's designs. However, like

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<sup>191</sup> Thomas Mann. 'Sufferings and Greatness of Richard Wagner.' published and translated in: Thomas Mann. *Essays of Three Decades*. Trans. H.T. Lowe-Porter. (London: Secker and Warburg) 1947. [originally written 1933] 307-352. 315.

<sup>192</sup> Quoted by Mann. *Ibid.* 308.

<sup>193</sup> Brassai. *Proust in the Power of Photography*. 136. Brassai does not use the term 'leitmotiv'.

<sup>194</sup> Gilles Deleuze. *Proust & Signs*. Trans. Richard Howard. (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press) 2000.

<sup>195</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. VI. 256-270.



the collector who can only see the beginning of his collection in hindsight, the Venetian code for understanding the memory-work of the *Search* is understood retrospectively.

**Bookends of the house: *la porta d'acqua* and *la altana*<sup>196</sup>**

Up near the roof all our thoughts are clear. In the attic it is a pleasure to see the bare rafters of the strong framework. Here we participate in the carpenter's solid geometry.

–Gaston Bachelard. *The Poetics of Space*<sup>197</sup>

Just outside the threshold of the darkroom, there is a long hole in the floor that was used to pass the fabrics that had been printed and dried in the attic down to the *secondo piano nobile* for delicate finishing work. This top floor is dazzlingly bright. (Fig. 23) It is here that Fortuny is said to have first entered through a window and set up a studio in Palazzo Orfei.<sup>198</sup> After acquiring the whole palazzo, this area became used for clothing production. Though there is hardly any material trace of its former function, the attic was filled with long tables for laying out the fabrics and stations for inking the printing blocks. (Fig. 22) There is a photograph by Fortuny held in the archives of his wife Henriette inking the blocks by the light of the windows. (Fig. 39) This most secretive part of the process took place in the highest level of the palazzo. As the house rises upwards, so too does the level of secrecy.

Secrecy is typically associated with spaces like attics; however, secrecy is also often linked to darkness – what is hidden in shadows. Fortuny's top floor, though it was the most guarded space, was (and still is) the brightest. Good light would have been necessary for stamping and printing patterns on silks and velvets. In the Venetian palazzo, dampness and flooding would have been least likely on the upper floors, making them ideal for drying the fabrics. The *altana*, or roof deck, is the highest point in Palazzo Fortuny. (Plate 17) This was an area from which to survey the city of Venice – to consider and enjoy its light (a persistent inspiration to Fortuny). As Bachelard says, 'Up near the roof all our thoughts are clear.'<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>196</sup> Thanks again to Cristina Da Roit for anticipating my curiosity and sharing her knowledge of Fortuny's palazzo while guiding me throughout the space.

<sup>197</sup> 18.

<sup>198</sup> Romanelli. 'Palazzo Fortuny: The Infinite Necromancer's Space-Machine'. 16.

<sup>199</sup> Bachelard. *The Poetics of Space*. 18.

The lowest entry into the palazzo – the *porta d'acqua* – was the wettest and the darkest; however, it was much less secretive than the attic. Though the entry could be gated and locked, once inside the courtyard and the *piano terra* there were few secrets to behold. (Plates 11, 12) This likely had more to do with the proximity of the milky-blue water, which rises during times of *acqua alta*;<sup>200</sup> the reason the ground floor of most Venetian houses is sparse. The resulting wetness causes rot, decay, and sickness. As it was in the death of Fortuny's father, dampness was linked to deathliness. Thomas Mann exploits this link in his *Death in Venice*. As we will see in 'Tessuti', Fortuny also engages with dampness in his mysterious contact prints, and in the creation of his silk Delphos gown, which is examined in the following chapter.

These two spaces – the *altana* and the *porta d'acqua* – as the bookends of the house, enunciate the dichotomous themes light/dark, wet/dry, and open/secret that are evident throughout Fortuny's palazzo and much of his work.

Fortuny's entire palazzo was a site of magical multiplication, relentless replication, or, as Giandomenico Romanelli puts it, 'infinite mimesis'.<sup>201</sup> Palazzo Fortuny is filled with re-created textiles from the antique fabric collection; fashion designs that conjured historic costume; collected objects that were photographed, sketched, and painted; albums of photographic reproductions used to reiterate patterns; art history slides used to make photographic re-prints; doll-sized models of grand theatres; small-scale electric systems that re-created the skies... Fortuny's domestic workspaces were decorated with objects and images that aided his phantasmagoric resurrection of historic designs.

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<sup>200</sup> The regular flooding of Venice; literally translated, 'high water'.

<sup>201</sup> Romanelli. 'Palazzo Fortuny: The Infinite Necromancer's Space-Machine'. 22.

## CHAPTER 2 PLEATED TIME: LIGHT AND SHADOWS IN SILK AND VELVET<sup>1</sup>

Though he is most remembered for his textile designs, Fortuny originally trained as a painter in the classical European tradition, and became well versed in the history of western art, particularly the Venetian Renaissance. His in-depth study of the history of art provided a wide visual vocabulary of patterns, colours, and forms that he emulated in his silk gowns, velvet cloaks, and upholstery textiles. Using painting and sculpture as historic source material, Fortuny arrived at an understanding of Classical Greek costume construction and Renaissance and Baroque textile patterns and colouring. Though the theme of revivalism can be traced throughout most all of his works, this chapter focuses on his fashion designs and utilizes the material evidence in his collected albums of photographic reproductions for the study of historical works that inspired his 20<sup>th</sup>-century recreations.<sup>2</sup> The first half of this chapter examines his pleated Delphos gown and argues that its folds enact Michel Serres' metaphors of temporality (as folded and fluid), illuminating Fortuny's persistently historical vision. The second half of the chapter considers the influence of early 16<sup>th</sup>-century Venetian painting, specifically the works of Vittore Carpaccio (c.1455-c.1525) on Fortuny's velvets, and argues that their Orientalist style is derived more from *cinquecento* painting than 20<sup>th</sup>-century trends. In addition to a visual comparison between the works of the two artists, this section also considers the French novelist Marcel Proust's use of the visual resonance between Carpaccio and Fortuny as a '*leitmotiv*' in his novel *À la recherche du temps perdu* (written 1909-1922,

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful for the input of colleagues and students who have heard early versions of portions of this chapter at conferences. On the revivalist aspect of the Delphos gown I presented a paper titled, 'Mariano Fortuny's Delphos Gown: A Pleating Together of Time(s)' at *Revival: Utopia, Identity, Memory*, a conference at The Courtauld Institute of Art, London 23-24 November 2012, and helpful students in the 'Art in the Time of Proust' seminar at The University of Manchester also heard an early version of this paper. The portion of this chapter that analyses Fortuny's velvets and the influence of Vittore Carpaccio was first presented as 'Conjuring Venetian Costume: The Influence of Cinquecento Paintings in Mariano Fortuny's Dress Designs' at *The Long Shadow of the Venetian Cinquecento* at the Renaissance Society of America's annual conference, Washington, D.C. 22-24 March 2012. By the persistent and helpful hand of editor Andaleeb Banta, this paper has developed into a chapter in the forthcoming book, *The Enduring Legacy of the Venetian Renaissance*.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Cristina da Roit and Claudio Franzini for generous assistance in the library archives at Museo Fortuny.

published in volumes 1913-1927).<sup>3</sup> Proust's novel is the earliest piece of writing to claim that Carpaccio was a source of visual influence on Fortuny's designs, and his descriptions of Fortuny's creations are a testament of how they were received in Paris.<sup>4</sup> Though Proust's writing on the influence of Carpaccio in Fortuny's designs seems to more obviously reference velvet cloaks and capes, the 'Fortuny *leitmotiv*' throughout *À la recherche* also includes descriptions of an 'indoor gown' that seems more like the Delphos.<sup>5</sup> Just as Proust's *Search* contains the reoccurring 'Fortuny *leitmotiv*', this chapter on Fortuny's garments pleats together the French novelist's use of Fortuny – his silks, his silk-velvets, and his name (the only non-fictional, living artist referenced in *À la recherche*), as the artist who has 'rediscovered the secret of the craft'.<sup>6</sup>

In his descriptions, Proust emphasizes two main aspects of Fortuny's clothing designs that form the main argument of this chapter. Firstly, that Fortuny's designs are based on historic styles both in structural form and surface patterning, which he accessed through his study of the history of art. This chapter examines the curious temporality of revivalist fashion, arguing that Fortuny's never-changing, historically inspired designs pleat together disparate temporalities. And secondly, that Fortuny devoted particular attention to the play of light on the silks and velvets, which here will be attributed to his identity as a painter 'first and foremost'.<sup>7</sup> Fortuny saw himself as an artist and not as a fashion designer. Unlike 20<sup>th</sup>-century couture houses that thrive on the seasonality of fashion, he continued to make and refine the same designs throughout his entire career.<sup>8</sup> In an autobiographical note, Fortuny concluded a summary about his textile endeavours with the statement that he was 'always maintaining the artistic side, the true purpose of all

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<sup>3</sup> Proust refers to it as 'the Fortuny *leitmotiv*' in a letter to Maria de Madrazo on posted 18 February 1916, published in 'Huit lettres inédites à Maria de Madrazo'. 34. Also quoted in Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 636; and Collier. *Proust and Venice*. 166 footnote 11; 167 footnote 19.

<sup>4</sup> On the intersection of Proust and Fortuny see: Collier. *Proust and Venice*.79-115. First published in Italian as *Mosaici Proustiani* (Società Editrice Il Mulino, 1986); de Osma. *Fortuny, Proust y los ballets rusos*.

<sup>5</sup> See: Collier. *Proust and Venice*.167 note 19.

<sup>6</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. II. 654.

<sup>7</sup> Fortuny. 'Notes Biographiques Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo Peintre Espagnol'.

<sup>8</sup> This is further explored in 'Phantasmagoric Machines'.

my work.’<sup>9</sup> In the same note, Fortuny wrote: ‘I’m definitely still interested in many things, but painting has always been for me, my true profession.’<sup>10</sup>

Fortuny first produced silk scarves, known as Knossos scarves, stencilled with patterns that were intended to be used for dance and theatre performances.<sup>11</sup> After creating the pleated Delphos gown in 1909, Fortuny evolved the form of the dress into the Peplos gown where, once pulled over the wearer’s head, the elongated top would be folded down to create a hem at the waistline, like a top worn over a skirt.<sup>12</sup> (Plates 22, 23) Fortuny also stencilled designs inspired by ornamentation from Islamic temples and Venetian architecture onto sheer tunics and robes. He joined panels of his stamped velvets to lengths of pleated silk to create a gown that resembled royal medieval dress. Several of Fortuny’s velvet designs bear silhouettes and patterns from further east as well as from Northern Africa. His love of foreign costume extended into his personal life. In addition to playing dress up for parties, in his daily life he was known to wear exotic and historic costumes: anachronistic painter’s cloaks; djellabas and turbans; zouave trousers tapered with a zip at the ankle; and cropped capes like those from the early Renaissance.<sup>13</sup> (Figs. 40, 41)

In addition to the wide variety in his antique textile collection, Fortuny had more than 200 fabric-covered albums full of travel photographs, sketches, and collected reproductions of artworks he used as references for inspiration. He was a sort of ‘wild historicist’:<sup>14</sup> historical in the micro, and ahistorical in the macro.<sup>15</sup> Fortuny’s study of the history of art was anything but systematic. Though he was not discriminant in what he chose to study and appropriate, demonstrating an enormous breadth of influences, he was

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<sup>9</sup> Fortuny. ‘Notes Biographiques Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo Peintre Espagnol’. My translation.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 85-86.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* 87-102.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 27. Interview with Marjolaine Piccio. Interviewed by author. Fortuny factory, Giudecca. 18 June 2011. There is a humorous anecdote I was told by multiple people (including Ms. Piccio) in my research on Fortuny in Venice. Supposedly, on one of his boat journeys on the Venetian canals Fortuny, known for dressing eccentrically, was wearing a traditional black Venetian cape that was caught by the wind and flipped over his head, causing him a minor crash. It is said that after this incident he abandoned wearing capes.

<sup>14</sup> In our discussions, Carol Mavor once described Fortuny this way.

<sup>15</sup> I owe this summative statement to a very helpful discussion with dress historian, Caroline Evans at Central St. Martins, London.

a devoted student of architecture and the history of both fine and decorative arts, and in specific areas, chose to study in-depth.

This chapter, however, does not attempt to address the breadth of Fortuny's clothing designs and their global influences, but instead presents the Delphos gown and a selection of his silk-velvet cloaks and capes as case studies of how Fortuny's work was informed by his study of the history of art – more specifically, Ancient Greek sculpture and Italian Renaissance painting.<sup>16</sup> This chapter presents those of Fortuny's designs that most clearly demonstrate his appreciation and appropriation of historic styles and subsequently (perhaps not coincidentally), these are the garments most referenced in Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu*. As a revivalist, Fortuny closely studied past designs to re-create them. Fortuny's attitude towards historical referencing is quite clearly expressed in an introductory statement from one of his notebooks where he claims, 'Nothing is new in this world, so I do not pretend to bring new ideas [...].'<sup>17</sup>

#### **'That indoor gown [...] with a curious smell'**

The first time Proust mentions Fortuny by name in *In Search of Lost Time* is when, in volume V, the narrator inquires about a dress he remembers Oriane, the Duchesse de Guermantes, wearing. The narrator, seeking sartorial advice from Oriane, asks about 'that indoor gown that you were wearing the other evening, with such a curious smell, dark, fluffy, speckled, streaked with gold like a butterfly's wing?' Oriane replied: 'Ah! That's one of Fortuny's.'<sup>18</sup> Fortuny did sometimes print his silken gowns using stencils and metallic-pigmented paint (Plates 24, 25a, 25b), though mostly this was his practice on the silk-velvet cloaks and capes that would be layered on top of these indoor gowns. (See Plates 26, 27 for examples from the collection at the V&A) These gowns that had been printed were fixed with albumen, a preservative made of rotting egg whites that Fortuny imported from China.<sup>19</sup> Deschodt, in *The Magician of Venice*, also suggests that the gowns were rubbed with another odorous substance: amber<sup>20</sup> – the yellowish fossilized resin that hardens into translucence, fixing anything caught in it.

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<sup>16</sup> His study of Japanese prints and textiles, and North African patterns and forms also directly influenced his work. An in-depth study and visual analysis of these works could and should be undertaken.

<sup>17</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 1. My translation.

<sup>18</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V. 48.

<sup>19</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 115, 119. Deschodt. *The Magician of Venice*. 83.

<sup>20</sup> Deschodt. *The Magician of Venice*. 83.

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, when amber is rubbed it ‘becomes notably *electric* (so called from its Greek name ἤλεκτρον)’ and it gives an ‘agreeable odour’.<sup>21</sup> This aged, exotic, embalming, fragrant, gleaming, golden, electrified substance, as we will see, is perfectly befitting of Fortuny’s production process for his seductive gowns. And, like Walter Benjamin’s treasured monument outside of his Berlin classroom that accumulated layered dirt and soot from never being washed, these Delphos gowns were never supposed to be wetted. To be cleaned they had to be returned to Venice. It is no wonder then that Proust, with his notoriously sensitive nose, would have his narrator recall a Fortuny gown through olfactory as well as visual memories. As in the city of Venice that the gowns would emblemize for Proust, beautiful golden designs and vulgar sulphuric odours are simultaneously experienced.

Fortuny’s most well-known garment, the Delphos gown, was directly inspired by the then-newly-discovered ancient Greek sculpture, *The Delphic Charioteer*, which was unearthed in 1896.<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 42) This was not the first time Fortuny found inspiration for his clothing designs from archaeological discoveries. In an autobiographical note, Fortuny says the discovery of printed textile fragments in Greece inspired his research leading to the production of his Knossos scarves in 1907.<sup>23</sup>

There is an incomplete tracing of *The Delphic Charioteer* on the first page of one of Fortuny’s albums. Though the figure is not completely copied, the figure’s dress is fully rendered, perhaps revealing the purpose of the sketch. Following its namesake, Fortuny’s Delphos gown is generously cut and flows from the widest part of the figure at the shoulder down to the floor, enunciating points along the feminine silhouette. (Fig. 43) Three to four widths of silk material were stitched together and the adjoining seams were completely hidden by numerous pleats. (Fig. 44) With the exception of a note about one particularly large American customer, the gowns were made without particular sizes. The pleated panels would respond to the shape of its wearer. The top of the gown was enclosed by interlacing the front and back together on top of the shoulder, often with Venetian beads from the island of Murano adorning the laces. (Fig. 45) The imported silk used for Fortuny’s gowns is rather sheer, but appropriate for the intimate setting of the

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<sup>21</sup> ‘amber, n.1 and adj.’. *OED Online*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press) September 2014. Web. 17 October 2014.

<sup>22</sup> Also referred to as *The Charioteer of Delphos*. c.470 B.C. cast bronze. Delphi Archaeological Museum. The statue was discovered in 1896. de Osmá. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 96.

<sup>23</sup> Fortuny. ‘Notes Biographiques Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo Peintre Espagnol’.

bedroom and parlour, for which they were originally intended.<sup>24</sup> (Plate 29) Though they were meant to be worn without undergarments different linings could be sewn in.<sup>25</sup> (Fig. 46) There are also points of adjustment on the inside of the gown, making it completely adaptable to the wearer. (Fig. 47)

As opposed to typical late modern and contemporary fashion, which, as Walter Benjamin and Roland Barthes argue, marks the passing of time by its changing forms and silhouettes, Fortuny saw himself more as an inventor than a fashion designer. He continued to craft and refine the same basic structure of the Delphos throughout his career after he first patented his design for the Delphos in 1909.<sup>26</sup> This unusual continuity also makes his work mostly impossible to date without specific records of personal orders for the gown.<sup>27</sup> Despite these gowns being known the world over as Fortuny's, on a copy of the patent for the design of the Delphos, Fortuny has handwritten a note saying that the design was actually Henriette's idea, and that it was only out of urgency that they filed the patent in his name.<sup>28</sup>

Fortuny intended the dresses to last and, in a sense, to be timeless. Often women could wear the same Delphos throughout their lives, as the quality of the pleated silk was substantial and the gowns were completely adjustable. Peggy Guggenheim (1898-1979), for instance, could wear the same Delphos as she aged.<sup>29</sup> In the photograph in Fig. 48 she stands in the roof garden of her Venetian palazzo, which used to belong to Marchesa Casati (1881-1957) – another famous (perhaps infamous) wearer of the Fortuny's designs.<sup>30</sup> Guggenheim also wore a Delphos gown for her 80<sup>th</sup> birthday celebration in

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<sup>24</sup> Although designed as a dressing gown, they later were often worn on stage and in public. de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 131-132, 150, 163.

<sup>25</sup> For example, the golden Delphos gown at Platt Costume Gallery has an added bust lining.

<sup>26</sup> Benjamin. 'Paris: Capital of the Nineteenth Century. Expose of 1935' *The Arcades Project*; Roland Barthes. 'Blue is in Fashion This Year'. *The Language of Fashion*. Eds. Andy Stafford and Michael Carter. Trans. Andy Stafford. (Oxford: Berg) 2006. Benjamin's and Barthes's writing on fashion, time, and memory will be further explored in the 'Phantasmagoric Machines' chapter.

<sup>27</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 28, 94.

<sup>28</sup> M.8.1.5. Il Fondo Mariutti Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.

<sup>29</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 198-199.

<sup>30</sup> Marchesa Casati was an eccentric socialite in Venice at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, whose distinctive appearance included an auburn-coloured angular bob haircut and Kohl-blackened eyes. At night, she reportedly walked her pet cheetahs around the island wearing nothing but a fur coat. See: The Casati Archives website. <<http://www.marchesacasati.com/bio.html>> and 'La Divina Marchesa'. Curated by Fabio



1978. (Fig. 49) Echoing the timelessness of the gown, she continued to wear the Delphos gown of her youth even in her last years – like the prophesying Delphic Oracle who was prescribed to be a mature woman dressed in a young virgin’s clothes.<sup>31</sup> (Fig. 50)

Fortuny invented and patented a machine specifically for the silk-pleating process, which is speculated to take place underwater.<sup>32</sup> (Fig. 51) The pleating process was remarkably effective, as most all Delphos gowns in collections today have held their pleats. (Plate 30) Instead of stitching together the pleats (as Madame Grès [1903-1993] often did), Fortuny’s were created using ‘material memory’ – where the fabric retains the shape it has been pressed into, the folds themselves remember their form.<sup>33</sup> When purchased, the gowns were twisted and coiled like snakes into hat boxes. They are still kept this way today to preserve the pleating. (Plates 31a, b)

Though his Delphos gown was designed as an indoor tea gown, women started to wear it in public, beginning with actresses and dancers on stage. There are photographs Fortuny took of his wife, Henriette, around 1915 wearing a Delphos with a sheer wrap and pleated material folded into a turban in front of the fountains in *Piazza della Signoria*, Florence.<sup>34</sup> The sensual Delphos gown, meant for the private space of the home, became a practical contribution to dance as its pleats revealed the movements of the body without constricting it, unlike prevailing costuming.<sup>35</sup> As part of her revival or re-creation of classical Greek dance, Isadora Duncan (1877-1927) famously wore the Delphos

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Benzi and Gioia Mori with Daniela Ferretti. Palazzo Fortuny. 4 October 2014-8 March 2015.

<sup>31</sup> ‘Original virginity was a necessary condition for holding the office, but as youthful virginity proved dangerous on at least one occasion, it was ordained by the Delphians that in future a married woman of over fifty years should give the oracles. She should, however, be still attired as a maiden by the way of recollection of the ancient custom.’ Rev. T. Dempsey. *The Delphic Oracle: Its Early History, Influence, and Fall*. (Oxford: B.H. Blackwell) 1918. 53. Referencing Plutarch’s writing on the Delphic Oracle.

<sup>32</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 99. Chapter 3 in this thesis is devoted to Fortuny’s machines.

<sup>33</sup> I am thankful to the speakers and attendees I talked to at ‘Fashion and Re-collection’, a Postgraduate Symposium at the London College of Fashion (29, January 2013) for enriching my understanding of the manufacture and archiving of textiles. Some scholars do argue that Fortuny temporarily stitched folds into the silk before it went into the pleating machine. See: *100 Dresses*. The Costume Institute and The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press) 2010. 60. This text also, perhaps misleadingly, states that Fortuny’s pleats were not permanent because he did reset gowns that had been wetted or damaged. *Ibid*.

<sup>34</sup> These photographs are in the archive at Museo Fortuny. #87-92a.

<sup>35</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 132, 137-138.

because of its freedom of movement:<sup>36</sup> a revivalist dress for her revivalist dance. (Figs. 8, 9) In addition to other performers who wore Fortuny's clingy gown, the Italian film actress Lyda Borelli (1887-1959), known for her fluid, expressive gesturing, wore silk Fortuny costumes in the film, *Rapsodia Satanica*, a Faustian tale directed by Nino Oxilia in 1915/17.<sup>37</sup> (Figs. 52, 53 a, b, c) The reflective, liquid-like Fortuny gown enunciates Borelli's movements – like a shimmering second skin. As Baudelaire says in his section on 'Woman' in 'The Painter of Modern Life',

Woman is sometimes a light, [...] the way in which she moves and walks, but also in the muslins, the gauzes, the cast, iridescent clouds of stuff in which she develops herself, [...]. What poet, in sitting down to paint the pleasure caused by the sight of a beautiful woman, would venture to separate her from her costume?<sup>38</sup>

Borelli's costume is an integral part of her performance. Fortuny's pleated silk clings to her body, revealing the sensuality of her movements. Not unlike the American dancer Loie Fuller (1862-1928), Borelli also amplifies her gestures with the sheer veils in white and black that symbolize eternal youth and death, respectively.<sup>39</sup>

In addition to the materiality of silk lending a sensual quality to Fortuny's gowns, it also made them more hygienic than heavier conventional styles of dress. In her study of silk, Mary Schoeser outlines the health benefits of silk: its smooth surface makes it attract less dust and dirt; germs do not multiply as quickly as they do on animal fibres; it wicks sweat in hot, humid conditions yet it also traps body heat in low temperatures.<sup>40</sup> Fortuny's gowns were more hygienic than the layered, corseted dresses of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Though Paul Poiret (Parisian, 1879-1944) claimed to be the designer who liberated women from their corsets,<sup>41</sup> Fortuny was also amongst the first designers to

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<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 94, 132.

<sup>37</sup> This film came to my attention as it was screened in the Third Fashion in Film Festival (London) 1-12 December 2010. A book of related essays (including one on *Rapsodia Satanica* by Eugenia Paulicelli) is also being published: *Birds of Paradise: Costume as Spectacle* ed. Marketa Uhlirova. (London: Koenig Books) 2013.

<sup>38</sup> Charles Baudelaire. 'Woman'. *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*. Ed and trans Jonathan Mayne. (London: Phaidon Press Limited), 1995. 30-31. 31.

<sup>39</sup> Loie Fuller's use of silks will be examined in 'Tessuti'.

<sup>40</sup> Mary Schoeser. *Silk*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press) 2007. 155-156, 161-163. Silk and hygiene is also examined in 'Tessuti'.

<sup>41</sup> See: Harold Koda and Andrew Bolton. 'Paul Poiret (1879-1944)' *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2000 [September 2008]. <[http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/poir/hd\\_poir.htm](http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/poir/hd_poir.htm)> ; Wilson. *Adorned in Dreams*.

provide less-restrictive women's clothing.<sup>42</sup> And, in England, the Pre-Raphaelites and dress reformers had already been producing the loosely draped corset-less garments of the Aesthetic and Rational dress movements, before the turn of the century<sup>43</sup>. These designs were sold at Liberty's in London, which opened in 1875.<sup>44</sup> Later on, Fortuny's fabrics would also be sold there.<sup>45</sup> The practicality of freedom of motion as part of English revivalist aesthetic fantasy is also seen in William Morris' *News from Nowhere*, where the narrator wakes up in a Utopic future that seems more akin to past eras than his own 19<sup>th</sup> century. Morris' narrator compares the dress of the women in this sort of regressive-futuristic place to modern, industrialized English dress:

As to their dress, which of course I took note of, I should say that they were decently veiled with drapery, and not bundled up with millinery; that they were clothed like women, not upholstered like arm-chairs, as most women of our time are. In short, their dress was somewhat between that of the ancient classical costume and the simpler forms of the fourteenth-century garments, though it was clearly not an imitation of either: the materials were light and gay to suit the season.<sup>46</sup>

Like Fortuny's Delphos gown, these dresses also recall past styles, and their lightness lacks the structural rigidity of the still-popular corsets of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Morris' description also sounds like the Artistic/Aesthetic dresses that were developed in late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Britain. Though, as de Osma puts it, Fortuny was 'closer in spirit to Wagner than to Morris,' there is still the possibility that Fortuny was, in a comparatively small way, influenced by the English revivalist movements (Arts and Crafts, Pre-Raphaelites, etc.).<sup>47</sup>

The similarities in Fortuny's Delphos gown and the Greek revival dresses of the Pre-Raphaelites may be attributed to the former's exposure to the works of the latter in the first Venice Biennale in 1895, where the English Room held works by Edward Burne-

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*op.cit.*; Valerie Steele. *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History*. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press) 1988.

<sup>42</sup> Patricia A. Cunningham. *Politics, Health, and Art: Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850-1920*. (Kent, Ohio: The Kent State University Press) 2003. 203-215.

<sup>43</sup> See: Patricia A. Cunningham. 'Artistic Dress in England.' *Politics, Health, and Art: Reforming Women's Fashion, 1850-1920*. 103-133.

<sup>44</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 92.

<sup>45</sup> Deschodt. *The Magician of Venice*. 79.

<sup>46</sup> William Morris. *News From Nowhere and Other Writings*. London: Penguin Books, 1993. 53.

<sup>47</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 24. Wagner's influence on Fortuny's revivalism is further explored in the Conclusion of this thesis.

Jones, Frederic Leighton, John Everett Millais, Lawrence Alma-Tadema, and Walter Crane.<sup>48</sup> Also, two of Fortuny's closest friends in the arts were the Italian art historian and literary critic Angelo Conti (1860-1930) and, as previously mentioned, Gabriele D'Annunzio. Both of these men were indebted to the writings of English art critic Walter Pater (1839-1894) on aestheticism and on the relationship of music and visual art.<sup>49</sup> Though Fortuny's library does not contain any volumes on the Pre-Raphaelites, nor by Walter Pater or John Ruskin, some of the ideas that shaped their work may have been transmitted to Fortuny through discussions with Conti and D'Annunzio.<sup>50</sup> Profoundly influenced by Pater, Conti outlined his decadent aestheticism in *La beata riva: trattato dell'oblio* [*The Blessed Shore: A Treatise on Oblivion*] (1900), which he dedicated to both Fortuny and D'Annunzio.<sup>51</sup> Though it cannot be proved that Fortuny read *La beata* (likely as it may be), Fortuny was familiar with Conti's theories of art, as evidenced in their correspondence.<sup>52</sup> The fact that there is no material trace left in Palazzo Fortuny of Fortuny's study of these English painters and writers would strongly imply that their influence on his designs is somewhat insignificant, especially compared to the hundreds of images of works by other artists that fill his library.

### **Folded Time**

Though Fortuny was not alone in the neo-classical revival of Greek dress, the regularity of his precise pleats is unique compared to the more loosely formed folds of the draped costumes painted by the Pre-Raphaelites and the gowns promoted by dress reformers. Fortuny's machine-made pleats in thin, delicate silk recall the form of the gown's namesake – *The Delphic Charioteer* as well as the copious, clinging folds depicted on Ancient Greek *korai*, and the erotically revealing rippled cloth covering the Ancient Egyptian torso of Queen Nefertiti (Fig. 54), created in the colours of Italian

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<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 95. This is before the current organization of pavilions was installed.

<sup>49</sup> See: Franzini. 'Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny'. 77.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> Elisa Bizzotto. 'Pater's Reception in Italy: A General View'. *The Reception of Walter Pater in Europe*. Ed. Stephen Bann. (New York and London: Thoemmes) 2004. 62-86. 64; Maurizio Ascari. 'The fortune of *The Renaissance* in Italian art criticism, 1894-1944'. *Ibid.* 34-61. 35-38; Franzini. 'Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny'. 77; de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 34.

<sup>52</sup> Franzini. *Ibid.* quotes from these letters published in: Anna Mazzanti. *Simbolismo italiano fra arte e critica: Mario de Maria e Angelo Conti*. (Florence: Le lettere) 2007.

Renaissance (particularly of Tintoretto and Tiepolo): all specific areas in the history of art that Fortuny studied.<sup>53</sup>

In Fortuny's Delphos gown, the linear chronology of its historical influences is folded together, simultaneously re-created. As in Michel Serres' illustration of a crumpled handkerchief bringing disparate points into contact, Fortuny metaphorically folds together multiple times enacted in his literal pleating. The Delphos shows itself as multi-temporal, as Serres puts it: '[it] reveals a time that is gathered together, with multiple pleats.'<sup>54</sup> Fortuny's pleated time that brings together disparate points on the linear progression of history is like Proust's *Remembrance of Things Past*:<sup>55</sup> a phantasmagoric collusion of past and future that signifies the eternal return of things past. The form of the fold represents the remembrance; moments of the past resurface again in the present. In Proust's *Search*, perhaps the most central emblem of involuntary memory is a cake baked into the folded shape of a scallop shell – the madeleine. The surging forth of the past is initiated by the familiar taste of the madeleine, which is described as, 'so richly sensual under its severe, religious folds.'<sup>56</sup> The newer English translation by Lydia Davis describes the madeleine as 'so fatly sensual within its severe and pious pleating'<sup>57</sup>

Just as the 'severe religious folds' or 'pious pleats' of Proust's madeleine pervade the senses and provoke the narrator's memory of the past, the pleats of a Fortuny gown remind the narrator of Venice, or at least his desire for it. Carol Mavor suggests that the pleats of Albertine's Fortuny dress, given to her by Proust's narrator, holds memory like 'a sartorial madeleine'.<sup>58</sup> The rounded sensuality of Proust's pleated madeleine echoes the voluptuous body of Queen Nefertiti, thinly veiled by Fortuny-like pleats. (Fig. 54)

Across the volumes of *À la recherche*, Proust uses Fortuny garments to fold together the narrator's youthful desire for Venice, his love and resentment for Albertine, the idea of Venice as a place for his sexual desire to be fulfilled, and, once in Venice, the

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<sup>53</sup> de Osma argues that *korai* from 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C. are even 'truer models' for the Delphos. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 96. de Osma also offers this Ancient Egyptian torso as a visual comparison. *Ibid.* 85.

<sup>54</sup> Serres. *Conversations on Science, Culture, and Time*. 60.

<sup>55</sup> Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu* was also translated into English under the title *Remembrance of Things Past* by Moncrieff and Kilmartin in 3 volumes (1981).

<sup>56</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. I. 63.

<sup>57</sup> Proust. *Swann's Way*. Trans. Lydia Davis. (New York: Viking Penguin) 2003. 47. Mavor compares these two translations in *Black and Blue: The Bruising Passion of Camera Lucida, La Jetée, Sans soleil, and Hiroshima mon amour*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press) 2012. 65.

<sup>58</sup> Mavor. *Reading Boyishly*. 291.

memory and mourning of Albertine. In volume I, the young narrator is so excited about the prospect of visiting Venice that he makes himself ill and it is not until the second half of volume V that he actually goes. The prolonged waiting for Venice is later paralleled by the narrator's waiting for the Fortuny gowns he has ordered in the first half of volume V. When his relationship with Albertine had become increasingly dysfunctional and claustrophobic, he orders Fortuny gowns for her, in hopes of making her want to stay. He knows that even though she wants to leave him, she will stay at least long enough to receive the ordered Fortuny gowns<sup>59</sup> The narrator reports that Albertine had 'long-desired them' and 'had a space reserved for them in advance'.<sup>60</sup> Here Fortuny's gowns facilitate the endurance of sustained delayed gratification.

Proust's narrator continues:

From time to time, while we were waiting for these gowns to be finished, I used to borrow others of the kind, sometimes merely the stuffs, and would dress Albertine in them, drape them over her; she walked about my room with the majesty of a Doge's wife...<sup>61</sup>

Like the birthday gift that the young narrator in Combray receives early to assuage his unhappiness, Albertine is able to wear Fortuny gowns before hers have arrived, and the narrator is able to experience Venice – to touch it – through the dresses before he actually travels there. As we will see in the second half of this chapter, once he goes to Venice (without Albertine), the narrator simultaneously recalls Fortuny and Albertine: the two have become as inextricably associated as the gowns and Venice were when he was in Paris. Proust's narrative, written on his folded manuscript pages (Fig. 38), is pleated together in Fortuny's gown. Proust's 'Fortuny *leitmotiv*', a 'sensual, poetic, and sorrowful' theme,<sup>62</sup> runs throughout future anticipations, remembrances of the past, and present hallucinations of Venice.

Like Proustian time throughout the many pages of *À la recherche*, with one moment rubbing against another from long past while also pressing up against a moment yet to come, the pleated Delphos overlaps and folds together; it holds in memory.<sup>63</sup> Its shape was created through material memory. As perfectly illustrated in Abelardo Morell's photograph, *Book with Wavy Pages* (2001), the pleats in Fortuny's Delphos gown look

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<sup>59</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V. 537.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* 499.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 500.

<sup>62</sup> Proust to Maria de Madrazo. 18 February 1916.

<sup>63</sup> Mavor. *Reading Boyishly*. 290-291.

like pages of Proust's monumental volumes of pages and both describe the layering effect of time. (Figs. 55, 56) The rubbing together of pleats, the convergence of folds of history, signify the rapturous moments of Proustian involuntary memory; as when he pleats together the involuntary sensations linking Venice, Balbec, and Combray: 'A minute freed from the order of time has re-created in us, to feel it, the man freed from the order of time.'<sup>64</sup> Fortuny's wild historicism, the pleated time in his revivalist creations – like Proustian time – provides this 'minute freed from the order of time'.

Walter Benjamin also invokes the form of the fold to describe Proustian temporality that is comprised of the opening up and unfolding of memory. He says:

What Proust began so playfully became awesomely serious. He who has once begun to open the fan of memory never comes to the end of its segments; no image satisfies him, for he has seen that it can be unfolded, and only in its folds does the truth reside; that image, that taste, that touch for whose sake all this has been unfurled and dissected; [...].<sup>65</sup>

Benjamin speaks to the reader's desire to peer between Proust's pleats, to unfold and uncover. Like Fortuny's Delphos, whose hidden seams make its pleats seem endless, the process of unfolding Proustian time is never-ending because, as Deleuze said of the Leibnizian fold: 'Unfolding is thus not the contrary of folding, but follows the fold up to the following fold.'<sup>66</sup>

Like Proust's narrator who claimed he wanted to build his novel like a dress – with time folded together like a pleated Fortuny gown<sup>67</sup> – one of Benjamin's fragmentary notes for *The Arcades Project* suggests the sartorial fold as the model for his own monumental book:

What the child (and, through faint reminiscence, the man) discovers in the pleats of the old material to which it clings while trailing at its mother's skirts- that's what these pages should contain. □ Fashion □<sup>68</sup>

'These pages', the pages of the *Arcades*, like the pages of Proust's *À la recherche* and like Fortuny gowns, contain memory within its folds. The opening of the fold is the

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<sup>64</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol.VI. 264-265.

<sup>65</sup> Walter Benjamin. 'A Berlin Chronicle'. (1932) *One Way Street and Other Writings*. Trans. Edmund Jephcott and Kingsley Shorter. (London and New York: Verso) 1979. 296.

<sup>66</sup> Gilles Deleuze. *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*. Trans. Tom Conley. (London: Athlone Press) 1993. 6.

<sup>67</sup> As argued in 'Secret Spaces' 85-86. Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. VI. 509-510.

<sup>68</sup> Benjamin. 'K: Dream City and Dream House, Dreams of the Future, ... Jung' *The Arcades*. 391.

epistemological game of unearthing the past laid dormant until uncovered as deferred revelation – a recovery of what was lost.

### **Fluid Time**

Congruent with his idea of folded time where chronologically disparate points are brought together, Serres gives another physical description of non-linear temporality when he says that historical time is fluid but, like a river with its eddies and rapids, time simultaneously passes and does not pass.<sup>69</sup> Again, the Delphos gown metaphorically enacts this illustration as its transparent and reflective surface makes it seem wet. The Delphos gown, though it cannot be liquid, appears as liquid or water: the dress flows without actually flowing. The watery silk of the Delphos gathers and puddles around the feet of Fortuny's models. (Figs. 57, 58) Fortuny preferred to hide the feet of the models with the length of the gown.<sup>70</sup> Cloaked in shimmering silk formed underwater into pleats, the wearers resembled watery nymphs. As noted by a contemporary observer and wearer of the Delphos, the glamorous British socialite Lady Diana Cooper (1892-1986) describes the gowns in her memoirs as: '[...] timeless dresses of pure thin silk cut severely straight from shoulder to toe, and kept wrung like a skein of wool. In every crude and subtle colour, they clung like mermaid's scales.'<sup>71</sup> Where Serres' metaphors meet (where fluid time meets folded time) the silky, wet pleats of the Delphos again resemble Proust's *Recherche* (again illustrated by Abelardo Morell) as a projection of the pages of the narrator's desire for Venice, soaked in the shimmering waters of the lagoon. (Figs. 59, 60)

The particular kind of silk Fortuny used, tussah silk, was known for its 'liquidlike softness'.<sup>72</sup> This type of wild silk required more dye than any other.<sup>73</sup> Fortuny negotiated this by dyeing in multiple stages, building up the colour layer by layer. He continued to use natural dyes and fabrics, resisting the new cheap, locally manufactured synthetic fabrics like rayon that were encouraged by national textile associations in Italy under

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<sup>69</sup> Serres. *Conversations on Science, Culture, and Time*. 58.

<sup>70</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 96.

<sup>71</sup> Lady Diana Cooper. *The Rainbow Comes and Goes*. (London) 1958. 61; quoted in de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 129.

<sup>72</sup> Schoeser. *Silk*. 144, 146.

<sup>73</sup> Schoeser. 'The Science of Silk'. *Silk*. 240.



Fascist rule to promote national self-sufficiency.<sup>74</sup> As described by Mario Lupano and Alessandra Vaccari in *Fashion at the Time of Fascism*: ‘Enthusiasm for the artificial purity of new industrial products was perceptible even in the phantasmagorical names- Acesil, Argentea, Lunesil, Fibrilla, Ivorea, and Viscofan- used to market one of the most widespread fibres of the day: rayon.’<sup>75</sup> Similarly, Italian Futurist fashion designers, who often aligned with the agenda of the Fascist party, condemned the use of silk. In 1920, Volt [Vincenzo Fani] wrote in *Roma Futurista*:

After three years of war and shortages of raw material, it is ridiculous to continue manufacturing leather shoes and silk gowns. *The reign of silk in the history of female fashion must come to an end [...]*.<sup>76</sup>

Italian silk producers, under the same banner of Fascism as the Futurists, confronted the decline in demand for their product by producing literature on silk, emphasizing its historic significance in the history and culture of Italy.<sup>77</sup> However, the regime’s strident autarchic policies were more in line with the Futurist fervour for the new and technologically inventive than with the inefficient, expensive production of silk.<sup>78</sup> Instead of using locally produced silk, Fortuny imported tussah silk, which comes from wild moths and yields a high percentage of waste.<sup>79</sup> This luxurious raw silk from China and Japan was used for his Delphos gown and he coloured it by layering dyes he made from natural ingredients imported from around the world, as de Osma describes: ‘cochineal (a small insect that produces a red tint) from Mexico, indigo from India, and other plants

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<sup>74</sup> Interview with Alessandra Vaccari 26 January 2012, Venice. See also: Eugenia Paulicelli. *Fashion under Fascism: Beyond the Black Shirt*. (Oxford and New York: Berg) 2004. 99-120.

<sup>75</sup> *Fashion at the Time of Fascism: Italian Modernist Style 1922-1943*. Eds. Mario Lupano and Alessandra Vaccari. (Bologna, Italy: Damiani) 2009. 12.

<sup>76</sup> Volt (Vincenzo Fani). ‘Futurist Manifesto of Women’s Fashion’. *Roma Futurista*, (Rome) 20 Feb. 1920. Trans. Emily Braun. ‘Futurist Fashion: Three Manifestoes.’ *Art Journal*. College Art Association, 54, no. 1 (Spring 1995): 34-41. Appendix II. 40.

<sup>77</sup> The *Federazione Nazionale Fascista degli industriali della seta* (The National Fascist Organisation of Silk Producers) published these articles in *La Seta* (Silk). Paulicelli. *Fashion under Fascism*. 104.

<sup>78</sup> Conversely, the Fascist regime still occasionally encouraged revivalist fashion as a way of invoking Ancient and Renaissance Italy as direct predecessors to their reign. This is discussed in ‘Phantasmagoric Machines’.

<sup>79</sup> Schoeser. *Silk*. 249.

and herbs from Brazil.’<sup>80</sup> Some of Fortuny’s remaining blue dye powders are on display at Palazzo Fortuny. Plate 32 shows small glass bottles of cobalt and ultramarine, while Plates 33 and 34 show wrapped parcels labelled, ‘colour with an unknown name’ and ‘colour without a name’, respectively. Residue of the bluish slate-grey ‘colour with an unknown name’ lingers on the paper covering in Plate 32 while bright azure powder spills out of the torn open parcel in Plate 33. Though some of these dye ingredients had forgotten names or no names at all, descriptions of Fortuny’s garments and textiles often included unique colour names. Fortuny’s Delphos was offered in a creamy shade of white called *Zabaglione* after a cr me anglaise dessert.<sup>81</sup> Proust, in his *  la recherche du temps perdu*, called the lining of Albertine’s Fortuny gown ‘Tiepolo pink’.<sup>82</sup> This pink from the palette of Tiepolo – a Venetian painter – is most likely the particularly Venetian colour, ‘Venetian red’ – a ‘distinctive coral-tinged red’ whose singularity, owed to the lagoon water, distinguished it from ‘Florentine red’ which was also popular at the time.<sup>83</sup> (Plate 35) These evocative names recall Roland Barthes’ confession that he bought paint colours ‘by the mere sight of their name. The name of the color (*Indian yellow, Persian red, [...]*); the name is then a promise of a pleasure [...].’<sup>84</sup> For Proust, the pleasure in Fortuny’s ‘Tiepolo pink’ is that it is a materialisation of the past; a tangible historical link made through art.

The colours of Fortuny’s designs were inspired by his study of Venetian painters from *La Serenissima* – the ‘serene’ golden days of the Republic of Venice. In contrast, the fashion of the Futurists was dominated by boldly aggressive forms and colours meant to express their desire to abolish the ‘nostalgic, romantic, and flaccid’ and to ‘inspire the love of danger, speed, and assault, and loathing of peace [...].’<sup>85</sup> The manifesto for ‘The Antineutral Suit’ specifically states that the main objective of Futurist clothing is to be

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<sup>80</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 110, 115, 119. See also: Frances Pritchard. ‘Mariano Fortuny (1871-1949): His Use of Natural Dyes’. *Dyes in History and Archaeology* 16/17, ed. Jo Kirby, (London: Archetype Publications, 2001) 39-42. 41.

<sup>81</sup> See the inventory of Fortuny garments at the end of: Poli and Deschodt. *The Magician of Venice*.

<sup>82</sup> In *The Captive*. Quoted in Eric Karpeles. *Paintings in Proust: A Visual Companion to ‘In Search of Lost Time*. (London: Thames and Hudson) 2008. 260.

<sup>83</sup> Schoeser. *Silk*. 118; 246, footnote 2.

<sup>84</sup> Barthes. *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes*. 129.

<sup>85</sup> Giacomo Balla. ‘The Anti-Neutral Suit: Futurist Manifesto’. *Volantino della Direzione del Movimento Futurista*. (Milan) 11 Sept. 1914. Trans Emily Braun. ‘Futurist Fashion: Three Manifestoes *Art Journal*. College Art Association 54, no. 1 (Spring 1995), Appendix I. 34-41. 39.

anti-neutral, with ‘Violent colours and designs that are imperious and impetuous like the commands on the field of battle.’<sup>86</sup> As opposed to Fortuny whose palette came from Tiepolo and Tintoretto, Futurist clothing was to be coloured ‘the most violet violet, the reddest red, the deepest of deep blues, the greenest of greens, brilliant yellows, vermilions, and oranges.’<sup>87</sup> These bright colours were produced by chemical dyes used on synthetic fabrics, which was seen as more practical, economical, and patriotic than Fortuny’s natural dyes and velvets, silks, and fine cottons that were imported from various countries. This artificial, brash brilliance was characteristic of a new type of rayon, invented in Italy in 1935, that was promoted with spectacle as a travelling display played advertising jingles like ‘Fili di sole’ (Threads of the Sun).<sup>88</sup>

The luminous colour that Fortuny produced with natural silk results from the unique innate structure of the fibre. Mary Schoeser explains in ‘The Science of Silk’ that silk has a prism-like surface: ‘in cross section it is more triangular than round, its surface, prism-like, intensifies the effect of any color.’<sup>89</sup> After multiple saturations in dye vats, it was this structural prism effect that created the characteristic luminosity of the Delphos: a shimmering that has likened the gown to the sparkling canals of Venice (in one of its most famous descriptions in Proust’s novel). As opposed to chemically-dyed rayon as bright as the sun,<sup>90</sup> Fortuny’s silk Delphos is lustrous and gently reflective while also being translucent. To arouse and amplify this effect, the Brighton Museum, at an exhibition of Fortuny’s clothing designs in 1980, gave visitors small torches to shine over the gowns to watch the play of light across the surface.<sup>91</sup> Fortuny’s iridescent Delphos, glistens as a luminous mirage, a hallucination of historical dress resurrected.

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<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> Paulicelli. *Fashion under Fascism*. 108-109.

<sup>89</sup> Schoeser. *Silk*. 117.

<sup>90</sup> ‘Color! We need color to compete with the Italian sun.’ F.T. Marinetti, Francesco Monarchi, Enrico Prampolini, Mino Somenzi. ‘The Futurist Manifesto of the Italian Hat’. *Futurismo*. (Rome) 5 March 1933. Trans Emily Braun. ‘Futurist Fashion: Three Manifestoes’. Appendix III. 40-41. 40.

<sup>91</sup> *Mariano Fortuny (1871-1949)*. 1 October – 30 November 1980. Lou Taylor offers this as an example of curatorial strategies to deal with the challenges of costume display. *The Study of Dress History*. (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press) 2002. 26.

## Shimmering Shadows

Similar to his Delphos gown, Fortuny's historically inspired velvets with printed metallic pigmented patterns glisten in the flickering Venetian light. The patterns for his silk-velvet capes, cloaks, and jackets were inspired by his family's personal fabric collection as well as the historic Venetian paintings of 16<sup>th</sup>-century garments. As argued in 'Secret Spaces', Fortuny's own interest in reviving designs from the past was undoubtedly sparked by his family's obsession with the antiquated and historic. When Fortuny established his studio and salon in Venice at Palazzo Orfei, purchased in 1899, he incorporated many of the same antiques and objects that his father used to decorate his own painting spaces. Fortuny continued adding to his parents' collection of antiques and curiosities. Along with the carpets, masks, weapons, and suits of armour gathered by Fortuny's parents on their travels across Europe and northern Africa, Fortuny inherited a luxurious collection of antique fabrics that were influential in the creation of his own designs. The collection of richly-coloured garments, comprised of over 550 pieces, included 15<sup>th</sup>-century gold and silver brocades from Lyon and Florence, Oriental silks decorated with dragons, ecclesial garments with embroidered pictorial scenes, woven cottons from Turkey, India, and Africa, Baroque damasks, and taffetas embroidered with florets.<sup>92</sup>

In written reflections on his time in Venice, French poet (and acquaintance of Proust)<sup>93</sup> Henri Régnier (1864-1936) recounted an evening with Cecilia de Madrazo, who revealed to him the impressive textile collection with the 'gesture[s] of a magician'.<sup>94</sup> He evocatively explained the genesis of her collection:

[...] Madame Fortuny confessed having a taste for old fabrics whose shreds had escaped the injuries of time, evoking their intact splendour. It was in Spain that she made her first purchase: an antique velvet whose blood-purple wore a décor of exploded pomegranates. This first purchase was followed by many others that little by little formed the marvellous collection.<sup>95</sup>

Régnier's use of the word 'exploded' to describe the pomegranates ('*grenades éclatées*') is perhaps a play on words: French *grenade* refers to both the explosive bomb and the hard-shelled fruit it is named after, and the Spanish the word *granada* has the

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<sup>92</sup> Poli. *Seta & Oro. op.cit.* and Poli. *I tessili Fortuny di Oriente e Occidente. op.cit.*

<sup>93</sup> Though Proust did admire Régnier, it was 'an admiration that was not reciprocated, [...]'. Tadié. *Marcel Proust*.136. See also: *Ibid.* 230.

<sup>94</sup> Régnier. *L'Altana*.172. My translation.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.* 169-170. My translation.

same double meaning. The motif of the pomegranate may have held special significance for the Fortuny family as Fortuny's birthplace, Granada, Spain is historically the city of pomegranates, and like Venice has a cultural landscape marked by the historic combination of Eastern and Western design.<sup>96</sup> Régnier described more of the sumptuous velvets, satins, and taffetas that he was shown at the home of the Fortunys, adding that it was Mariano himself who had offered to show him the fabric collection, which 'without a doubt' provided much of the inspiration for his modern textile designs.<sup>97</sup> One such example is the Richelieu pattern (named after the 17th-century French Cardinal-Duke) that Fortuny printed on upholstery fabric, which looks strikingly like a patterned textile fragment from his collection. The antique fabric bears the repeating image of two golden lions facing each other on crimson ground, but Fortuny seems to have inversed the positive image to reproduce the lions on golden ground. (Fig. 61) The Richelieu lions were printed on Egyptian cotton in various colourways<sup>98</sup>.

While Fortuny's diverse antique fabric collection was a direct influence in the design of both his upholstery fabrics and his garments, the scope of this chapter is limited to Fortuny's revival of Venetian Renaissance dress. A significant example of this revival is Fortuny's interest in/recreation of pomegranate-patterned fabrics, like the one that began Cecilia de Madrazo's collection. The pomegranate motif originated in the Middle East and was made popular in the West in the 14<sup>th</sup> - 16<sup>th</sup> centuries through trade, especially in the strategically located port city of Venice.<sup>99</sup> The pattern was reinterpreted as a Christian symbol of resurrection, and also as a symbol of majesty and royalty because of the crown-shaped form of the top of the pomegranate.<sup>100</sup> Popular amongst very wealthy Europeans beginning as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the pomegranate motif in these designs is not strictly limited to depictions of the seeded fruit.<sup>101</sup> In descriptions of Renaissance textiles, what is often referred to as 'pomegranate' designs commonly

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<sup>96</sup> In the early 16th century, 'The Gate of the Pomegranates' was installed at the Alhambra complex. Granada's flag and coat of arms bear the image of the pomegranate.

<sup>97</sup> Régnier. *L'Altana*. 167-168.

<sup>98</sup> The Richelieu pattern is still currently printed at the Fortuny factory in Venice, which Fortuny opened in 1919. See 'Phantasmagoric Machines' 8-9.

<sup>99</sup> Monnas. *Merchants, Princes and Painters*. 7; James Trilling. *Ornament: A Modern Perspective*. (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press) 2003. 49, 52. I am also grateful to Jaroslav Folda and the members of the graduate seminar on Medieval Ornament at UNC Chapel Hill in 2005 for discussions on the evolution and importation of ornamental patterns.

<sup>100</sup> Monnas. *Merchants, Princes and Painters*. 218.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* 258.

includes patterns that incorporate other fruits and vegetation.<sup>102</sup> Fortuny re-created the pomegranate motif from the Italian Renaissance on his long velvet cloaks and gowns, usually with gold or metallic patterning on dark ground.<sup>103</sup> (Fig. 1) He also utilized this pattern in his costume design for an historical pageant, ‘The Wedding Celebrations of Galeazzo Sforza and Bonne of Savoy’ in Milan in 1937.<sup>104</sup>

These antique cloths, woven with metallic threads, were expensive and used for domestic and ecclesiastical decoration as well as for fashion.<sup>105</sup> In Renaissance clothing design, it was more economical to use the costly patterned cloth for sleeves rather than for an entire dress.<sup>106</sup> This approach is illustrated in Vittore Carpaccio’s *Two Venetian Ladies* (c.1495, Museo Correr, Venice). (Figs. 62a, b) The expensive gold-patterned fabric in the costume of the woman in the foreground has been truncated and does not extend beyond the open-laced sleeves and bust. By contrast, the exceeding wealth of the Medici family is signified by the opulently brocaded, full-sleeved and full-skirted dress of Eleonora di Toledo in Agnolo Bronzino’s portrait of her with her son (1544-1545, Uffizi Gallery, Florence).<sup>107</sup>

To re-create these historic textile patterns, Fortuny not only consulted his family’s collection of antique fabrics and museum textile collections,<sup>108</sup> but he also researched the costumes depicted in paintings by studying photographic reproductions of Renaissance masters. Like the pomegranate motif, these patterns brought from the Orient to Venice during the Renaissance were preserved in contemporary paintings and then reiterated in Fortuny’s twentieth-century designs. Because of the delicate nature of preserving textiles, paintings were essential to the study of the history of costume. Fortuny’s historical consciousness and desire to translate the past for a modern era brought him to works of

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<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.* 258. Also see: Trilling. *Ornament*.49.

<sup>103</sup> Examples from the collections of Countess Elsie Lee Gozzi and Liselotte Höhs are reproduced in de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.112, 115, 183, index image 8.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.* 184-185. Fortuny designed a more orientalized iteration of the pomegranate pattern for his upholstery fabrics. The pattern, named *melagrana* (Italian for pomegranate) is still produced at the Fortuny factory.

<sup>105</sup> Monnas. *Merchants, Princes and Painters*. 258.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.* 258.

<sup>107</sup> Fortuny apparently had an antique fabric sample very similar to the Spanish brocaded velvet worn by Eleonora di Toledo in this portrait, and he produced his own re-creation of it. Poli. ‘Textiles and Clothes’. *Fortuny: The Magician of Venice*.150.

<sup>108</sup> For example, in an undated letter to his mother Fortuny wrote from Florence, ‘Yesterday I went to the Bargello- purely marvellous! There is the most wonderful collection of fabrics [...]’ archived in *Il Fondo Mariutti* at Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. [M4.4.53] My translation.

the Venetian *cinquecento*, in particular. Of the 211 albums of photographic reproductions of artworks that he amassed and organized for study in his personal library, those containing the largest volume of images are: *Bellini-Carpaccio-Mansueti*, *Tintoretto*, and *Tiepolo*.<sup>109</sup>

Within the *Bellini-Carpaccio-Mansueti* album Fortuny collected twenty-seven different photographic reproductions of Carpaccio's cycle of the *Legend of Saint Ursula*, more than any other work. There are sometimes four or five images of the same portion of the painting with varying degrees of magnification, suggesting a study of detail. There are many reproductions of the arrival and departure scenes of the wealthy ambassadors who approached the King of Brittania to negotiate the marriage of his daughter Ursula. Based on the reproductions selected by Fortuny it would appear he studied the costumes of the Ambassadors. (Fig. 63) Their intricately painted garments provided references for forms and patterns that Fortuny would emulate in his velvet capes.

Of the photographs collected by Fortuny of Carpaccio's cycle of the *Legend of Saint Ursula*, the most reproduced scene is the *Meeting of the Betrothed Couple* (1495). (Fig. 64) In this portion of the cycle Carpaccio documented the textile trade, an integral component of the Venetian *cinquecento*. The central part of this port scene shows Oriental carpets on display, tradesmen waiting, and observers wrapped in luxuriously decorated fabrics. The Venetian taste for the exoticism of the Orient was aroused by sumptuous imported silks that were given names to evoke their far-away origins (even when they began to be produced locally in Venice or Lucca): 'damasks' were named for Damascus; 'baudekyn' or '*baldacchino*' suggests the Italian name for Baghdad-*Baldacco*.<sup>110</sup> (Similarly, of the patterns Fortuny designed and printed on upholstery fabrics at the factory on Giudecca, several were given names to evoke specific historical/geographical influences: 'Richelieu' – the 17<sup>th</sup>-century French Cardinal-Duke; 'Ashanti' – the large African tribe in present-day Ghana; 'Maori' – the indigenous people of New Zealand; 'Peruviano' – the Incas in Peru, 'Moresco' – Moorish Spain and Turkey; 'Farnese' and 'de Medici' – influential families in Renaissance Italy; 'Caravaggio', 'Boucher', 'Fragonard' – after the namesake painters, 'Vivaldi' – after the Italian Baroque composer.<sup>111</sup>)

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<sup>109</sup> Archived at Museo Fortuny, Venice.

<sup>110</sup> Monnas. *Merchants, Princes and Painters*. 13, 16, 298, 299.

<sup>111</sup> This list is not exhaustive. See Fortuny.com for the full catalogue.

Trade cultivated the consumption of the exotic. Carpaccio's *Meeting of the Betrothed* portrays the import of Eastern textiles to Renaissance Venice; textiles bearing the same patterns that Fortuny would re-create utilizing his study of the very same image. Fortuny's fabrics, being perfectly evocative of the Orientalism of *cinquecento* Venice, were used for the costuming in Orson Welles' *The Tragedy of Othello: The Moor of Venice* (1952), based on William Shakespeare's own portrayal of Venice as a site of East-meets-West.<sup>112</sup>

Though Fortuny's designs did become very popular across Europe and America (especially throughout the inter-war period), he had not originally intended to capitalize on the Orientalist trend.<sup>113</sup> Fortuny's Orientalism was not the same as that of his European contemporaries (like Parisian designer Paul Poiret) but was instead a more historicized Orientalism, mediated through his study of the Venetian Renaissance.

Unlike couture houses that thrive on the seasonality of fashion, Fortuny continued to make, refine, and patent the same designs throughout his entire career. He saw himself as an artist and not as a fashion designer.<sup>114</sup> His library contains a well-worn, illustrated paperbound volume depicting a comedic history of the impracticality of European fashions titled, *Les Tortures de la Mode (The Tortures of Fashion)*.<sup>115</sup> The green cover of the book bears a satirical cartoon devil-turned-tailor wielding a pair of scissors, and the opening page begins by declaring that 'Torture has not been abolished in France, it has only changed its name, today it is called Fashion.'<sup>116</sup>

In an autobiographical note, Fortuny concluded a summary paragraph about his textile endeavours with the statement that he was 'always maintaining the artistic side, the true purpose of all my work.'<sup>117</sup> In the same note, Fortuny writes: 'I'm definitely still interested in many things, but painting has always been for me, my true profession.'<sup>118</sup> It is through the medium of painting that he approached patterning in clothing design: the

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<sup>112</sup> Some of these costumes are held at Museo del Traje, Madrid.

<sup>113</sup> As fashion historian Valerie Steele explains, there was a 'revolutionary wave of Orientalism that swept through the world of fashion in the years just before the First World War.' Steele continues, '[...] trying to create "timeless" garments rather than modish fashions, Fortuny nonetheless designed dresses that bore an unmistakable resemblance to the avant-garde creations of Paul Poiret and others.' *Paris Fashion*.216.

<sup>114</sup> See 'Phantasmagoric Machines' 11-12 and footnote 56.

<sup>115</sup> Cham. *Les Tortures de la Mode*. Au Bureau du Journal Les Modes Parisiennes and du Journal Amusant. (Paris) nd. In Museo Fortuny.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.* My translation.

<sup>117</sup> Fortuny. 'Notes Biographiques Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo Peintre Espagnol'.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*



historically inspired patterns of his velvet capes are, in fact, painted. Fortuny re-created woven brocades and damasks by block printing; stamping the patterns onto the surfaces of the dyed fabric.<sup>119</sup> For this type of patterning, Fortuny altered and experimented with a fabric printing technique using Japanese stencil plates.<sup>120</sup> He blended crushed metallic pigments into tempera paint to give a subtle variation of texture and sheen, illuminating the designs.<sup>121</sup> He also used light-sensitive inks for some patterns, the garments then adorned by the direct play of imprinting shadow and light.<sup>122</sup> With metallic pigmented paint Fortuny re-created the *alluciolato* technique (where silver and gold threads were looped in the weft to give an uneven surface).<sup>123</sup> (Fig. 1) Like the historic woven patterns he was inspired by, Fortuny's stamped designs produced the flickering of Venetian light.

The saturated ground of these patterned garments emphasizes the dichotomy of darkness and light. The darkness of the shadowy velvets enunciates the delicacy of the metallic stencilled designs they bear. Junichiro Tanizaki muses on this role of darkness in his *In Praise of Shadows*, specifically where he examines the gently glimmering gold flecks in traditional Eastern lacquerware:

Artisans of old, when they finished their works in lacquer and decorated them in sparkling patterns, must surely have had in mind dark rooms and sought to turn to good effect what feeble light there was. Their extravagant use of gold, too, I should imagine, came of understanding how it gleams forth from out of the darkness and reflects the lamplight.<sup>124</sup>

In darkness, even the feeblest light is reflected from the light-catching golden patterns of the lacquerware, like those on Fortuny's velvets.

In Proust's novel, *À la recherche du temps perdu*, the narrator describes Fortuny's garments as having the same glimmer of Venice itself – the island filled with glittering golden mosaics, domes, reliquaries, and altars, and sparkling turquoise canals. When the narrator embraces Albertine, the lover who wears a Fortuny gown, to him it is as if he is

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<sup>119</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 115.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.* 119.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.* 115

<sup>123</sup> See 'Introduction' 3-4. On *alluciolato* see: Monnas. *Merchants, Princes and Painters*. 299.

<sup>124</sup> Junichiro Tanizaki. *In Praise of Shadows*. Trans. Thomas J. Harper and Edward G. Seidensticker. (London: Vintage Books) 2001. 23

‘pressing to my heart the shimmering golden azure of the Grand Canal [...].’<sup>125</sup> The narrator describes the same dress<sup>126</sup> as being made of

shimmering fabric, of an intense blue which, as my eyes drew nearer, turned into a malleable gold by those same transmutations which, before an advancing gondola, change into gleaming metal the azure of the Grand Canal.<sup>127</sup>

After publishing the first volume of *À la recherche du temps perdu* in 1913, Proust planned to build a link between Fortuny’s clothing designs and Venetian painting in the later volumes. Proust had described the fashions of his other female characters with reference to paintings, and for the novel’s main object of desire, Albertine, he sought a dress that would connect desire, sensuality, pain, memory, and Venice through the medium of painting. For more information he wrote to Fortuny’s aunt, Maria de Madrazo, who was also the older sister to his friend Reynaldo Hahn and the stepmother to his close friend Frederico (Coco) de Madrazo.<sup>128</sup> Proust asked Madame de Madrazo if there were any particular paintings in Venice that had inspired Fortuny.<sup>129</sup> After she writes back citing Carpaccio as an influence, Proust replies that,

Carpaccio happens to be a painter I know very well, I spent days at the San Giorgio Degli Schiavoni, and days looking at St. Ursula, I have translated everything Ruskin ever wrote about each of these paintings, everything. [...] I never let a day go by without looking at reproductions of Carpaccio paintings [...].<sup>130</sup>

In this same letter, Proust explains that the Fortuny ‘*leitmotiv*’ is ‘sensual, poetic and sorrowful’ and it operates through the visual similarity between Fortuny’s clothing designs and Carpaccio’s paintings.<sup>131</sup> For his descriptions of Fortuny garments, Proust did

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<sup>125</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V. 538.

<sup>126</sup> Though he is here most likely describing one of Fortuny’s thin silk gowns, Proust does describe Fortuny’s velvet cloaks as well (as in the scene in front of Carpaccio’s *The Patriarch of Grado* discussed later in this chapter). There are other times in the novel where Proust’s description of a lined and printed gown for Albertine cannot be as clearly identified.

<sup>127</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V. 531.

<sup>128</sup> See ‘Introduction’. 42.

<sup>129</sup> ‘Huit lettres inédites à Maria de Madrazo’. 23-38.

<sup>130</sup> 18 February 1916. *Ibid.* 34-35. As quoted and translated by Collier. *Proust and Venice*. *op.cit.*, 166 note 11. Also in Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 636; quoting *Correspondance* vol. XV ed. P. Kolb, Plon, 1970-93, 57-58.

<sup>131</sup> Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 636.

not study the actual clothing, but instead the works of Carpaccio.<sup>132</sup> Proust's grasp of Fortuny's designs was derived through his knowledge of Carpaccio, whom Proust came to admire through John Ruskin's writings, which had helped popularize the Venetian painter in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>133</sup> Though they most likely did not meet, both Proust and Fortuny studied Carpaccio from the same heavily illustrated book by Gustavo Ludwig and Pompeo Molmenti (1906).<sup>134</sup> By accessing Fortuny's designs through studying Carpaccio, Proust's descriptions emphasize the historical inspiration for the clothes, the artistry in their production, and their exotic appeal.

Just as Fortuny consulted Venetian painters to create his gowns, Proust's character, the painter Elstir, comments that one of the only ways to see historic Venetian dress in the modern era was through painting. Elstir describes Fortuny's designs as being a way

to gaze at the marvelous stuffs which they used to wear. One used only to be able to see them in the works of the Venetian painters, or very rarely among the treasures of old churches, or now and then when a specimen turned up in the sale-room. But I hear that a Venetian artist, called Fortuny, has rediscovered the secret of the craft, [...].<sup>135</sup>

Elstir's description simultaneously characterizes Fortuny as an artist, like Tanizaki's 'artisans of old', having 'rediscovered the secret of the craft,' and implies that the clothes, as objects, are perhaps more closely aligned with paintings than fashion. Later in the novel, when Proust's narrator sees a Fortuny gown and 'remember[s] Elstir's prophecy,'<sup>136</sup> he recognizes them through their art historical referents.

These Fortuny gowns, [...], were those of which Elstir, when he told us about the magnificent garments of the women of Carpaccio's and Titian's day, had prophesied the

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<sup>132</sup> Collier. *Proust and Venice*. 166 note 11.

<sup>133</sup> On Ruskin's role in popularizing Carpaccio: Alessandro Del Puppo. 'Vittore Carpaccio. The Invention of a Painter in XIXth-Century Europe' (paper presented for the session 'The Long Shadow of the Venetian Cinquecento' at the Annual Meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, Washington, D.C., 22-24 March 2012). Proust was a devoted reader of Ruskin and brought four of his books with him to Venice. He wanted to read *The Stones of Venice* whilst in Venice. Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 364; note referencing *Correspondance* vol. XXI. 587

<sup>134</sup> Fortuny's copy (archived at Museo Fortuny) looks lightly worn. Proust was lent a copy from Maria de Madrazo. Tadié. *Marcel Proust. op.cit.*, 636. (In the edition of Tadié I have used Molmenti is misspelled 'Milmenti'.) Del Puppo also argues Molmenti's role in popularizing Carpaccio. 'Vittore Carpaccio'.

<sup>135</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. II. 654.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. V. 497.

imminent return, rising from their ashes, as magnificent as of old, for everything must return in time, [...].<sup>137</sup>

Proust employed Fortuny's clothing designs as emblems of a glorious historic Venice that was previously only accessible through painting, as materializations of the past. In his modern Parisian fantasy of Venice, he also emphasizes its connection to the East.<sup>138</sup> For Proust's narrator, the exoticism of Fortuny's gowns conveys the exoticism of Venice:

[...] these Fortuny gowns, faithfully antique but markedly original, brought before the eye like a stage décor, [...] that *Venice saturated with oriental splendor* where they would have been worn and of which they constituted, even more than a relic in the shrine of St. Mark, evocative as they were of the sunlight and the surrounding turbans, the fragmented, mysterious and complementary colour.<sup>139</sup>

The velvets gave the illusion of being time-worn; as if the wearer really had stumbled across an old Venetian treasure. They have, as Tanizaki calls it, the 'sheen of antiquity,' that desired elegant agedness that is patiently waited for in the East.<sup>140</sup>

More directly emphasizing the garment's exotic appeal, Proust's narrator describes a Fortuny gown worn by Albertine as being 'overrun by Arab ornamentation, like Venice, like the Venetian palaces hidden like sultan's wives behind a screen of perforated stone [...].'<sup>141</sup> Here Proust links the Orientalism of Fortuny's designs with the historicized Orientalism of Venice.

Proust's character Elstir goes on to suggest that Fortuny's revival of these fashions will bring historic Eastern styles to women in Paris at the turn of the 20th century, just as they were brought to Venice through trade in the Middle Ages.

But I hear that a Venetian artist, called Fortuny, has rediscovered the secret of the craft, and that in a few years' time women will be able to parade around, and better still to sit at home, in brocades as sumptuous as those that Venice adorned for her patrician daughters with *patterns brought from the Orient*.<sup>142</sup>

This same character examines the transmission of these 'patterns brought from the Orient' when he gives a detailed description of the carpets, costumes, and landscape in

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<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>138</sup> Proust more overtly emphasizes the Orientalist qualities of Venice in later sections of his novel.

<sup>139</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time* Vol. V. 498. Emphasis mine.

<sup>140</sup> Tanizaki. *In Praise of Shadows*. 18-23.

<sup>141</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V. 531.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. II. 653-654. Emphasis mine.

Carpaccio's *Meeting of the Betrothed*.<sup>143</sup> Like Fortuny, who had several reproductions of this scene, Proust must have carefully studied this image.

The Fortuny *leitmotiv* in Proust's novel is fully realized when the narrator stands in the Accademia in Venice looking at Carpaccio's *The Patriarch of Grado* and reminisces on the Fortuny cloak of his lost love. Previously, seeing the Fortuny clothes on his lover had only filled him with a longing for Venice, and now the longings have been reversed.

[...] suddenly I felt a slight gnawing at my heart. [...], I had just recognized the cloak which Albertine had put on to come with me to Versailles [...]. It was from this Carpaccio picture that that inspired son of Venice had taken it, it was from the shoulders of this *Compagno della Calza* that he had removed it in order to drape it over the shoulders of so many Parisian women who were certainly unaware, as I had been until then, that the model for it existed in a group of noblemen in the foreground of the *Patriarch of Grado* in a room in the Accademia in Venice.<sup>144</sup>

Throughout the novel, Fortuny's designs are described as a revival of the fashions painted by Carpaccio, but the two are so intertwined for Proust's narrator that standing in front of Carpaccio's painted fabrics conjures the designs they would later inspire. Not only had Fortuny studied reproductions of this work, but he had also copied that exact cloaked figure from Carpaccio's *Patriarch of Grado* in his painting studies.<sup>145</sup>

Proust's 'Fortuny *leitmotiv*' in *À la recherche du temps perdu*, supported by his own research, is an important source for linking Fortuny's designs with Carpaccio's paintings. The painted images of fabrics that Fortuny replicated, by Carpaccio especially, were based on the exotic fabrics made popular during the Venetian Renaissance following the established textile trade from the East. The Eastern characteristics of Fortuny's patterns are mediated through *cinquecento* painting. His recreation of historic clothing provided access for the European modernist to an idealized and exotic Venetian

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<sup>143</sup> Collier argues that Carpaccio's narrative structure resonates with Proust's. *Proust and Venice*. 94-96.

<sup>144</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V. 877.

<sup>145</sup> Fortuny's painting study is held at Museo Fortuny. Proust asked Maria de Madrazo about this specific painting and admitted he could not accurately remember the colours of the garments in Carpaccio's painting and his black and white reproductions were obviously not of any help. This explains why (outside of artistic license) Proust changed the red of the *Compagno della Calza*'s cloak to blue in his descriptions of the Fortuny cloak that Albertine wore to Versailles. See: Proust to Maria de Madrazo. 10 March 1916. 37. 'Huit lettres inédites à Maria de Madrazo'; Collier. *Proust and Venice*. 169 note 10.

past. Fortuny's garments were the modern iteration of designs that were created, traded, and popularized throughout the Middle Ages and depicted in Renaissance paintings. This mimetic chain begins with the painting of cloth and ends in Fortuny's painting on cloth. He materialized Carpaccio's representations of fabric by bringing visual art into the haptic realm of textiles.

Of the several composers and painters named in Proust's *À la recherche*, Fortuny is the only non-fictional, living artist. Proust mentioned this in one of his letters to Maria de Madrazo to explain the importance of being able to accurately describe Fortuny's clothing designs.<sup>146</sup> In the novel, Proust's descriptions primarily serve his idea of the 'Fortuny *leitmotiv*' as 'sensual, poetic, and sorrowful' rather than providing an abundance of specific details. In *The Captive*, it seems as if the narrator's voice gives way to Proust's when it is stated that, 'There is no room for vagueness in the novelist's description, since the dress does really exist, [...]'.<sup>147</sup>

However, Proust does describe one specific pattern on Albertine's Fortuny gown that does not seem to exist. In *The Captive*, the narrator describes embracing Albertine whilst she wears a patterned Fortuny gown: 'I kissed her then a second time, pressing to my heart the shimmering golden azure of the Grand Canal and the mating birds, symbols of death and resurrection.'<sup>148</sup> Then he attempts persuading Albertine to remove her gown because, 'I dare not approach you for fear of crumpling that fine stuff, and there are those fateful birds between us.'<sup>149</sup> Proust ambiguously implies this bird is a phoenix,<sup>150</sup> though there is no evidence to suggest that Fortuny printed such a pattern on his indoor gowns. The closest thing to Albertine's gown is the 'Uccelli' ('Bird') pattern that Fortuny printed on his cotton upholstery fabrics, though it is unlikely Proust saw this as Fortuny's factory (where he printed on cotton) was only opened in 1922, the last year of Proust's life.<sup>151</sup> It is more probable that Proust used the symbol of the phoenix to conjure the idea of Venice

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<sup>146</sup> Proust to Maria de Madrazo. 18 December 1916. 'Huit lettres inédites à Maria de Madrazo'. 33-34.

<sup>147</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V. 34. Throughout his letters with Maria de Madrazo, Proust speaks in the first person when describing his narrator's feelings and circumstances. See 'Huit lettres inédites à Maria de Madrazo'.

<sup>148</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol V. 538.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* 539.

<sup>150</sup> Collier has argued that the author could also be describing peacock. *Proust and Venice*. 83-93.

<sup>151</sup> In his own research at Palazzo Fortuny, Collier also finds only cloths (not garments) patterned with two-headed eagles and birds with 'peacock-like plumage'. *Ibid.* 108-109.

– a place where the past is resuscitated– in this gown that reminds the narrator of his desire for the lagoon city. As Collier suggests, ‘We must not forget that Proust may be *creating* as much as copying Fortuny dresses, just as he creates Impressionist paintings for Elstir [...].’<sup>152</sup>

Proust visualizes the city of Venice – always on the verge of watery destruction as it slowly sinks into the sea – being revived, just as Fortuny’s designs have resurrected the past.

These Fortuny gowns, [...], were those of which Elstir, when he told us about the magnificent garments of the women of Carpaccio’s and Titian’s day, had prophesied the imminent return, rising from their ashes, as magnificent as of old, for everything must return in time, as it is written beneath the vaults of St. Mark’s, and proclaimed, [...], by the birds which symbolise at once death and resurrection.<sup>153</sup>

He invokes the phoenix as a symbol for Venice, the city that rises from the sea as well as its ashes.<sup>154</sup> It was most likely not lost on Proust that the opera house in Venice, twice destroyed by fire, is named *La Fenice* (The Phoenix).<sup>155</sup> In *À la recherche*, Venetian resurrection is seen specifically in Fortuny’s clothing designs. For Proust, Fortuny’s garments represent a revival of time past, or lost: *Le temps perdu*. Fortuny’s revival of the materiality of the past is a recuperative or restorative act. Like Proust’s own conclusion in his *Search for Lost Time*, through memory there is a regaining of time: *Le temps retrouvé* (the title of his final volume).

Fortuny’s fashions were an expression of a sort of fantasy of history – historical styles conjured up and mediated through artwork. Fortuny used an exotic combination of Venetian water and light, Murano glass, Chinese and Japanese wild silk, English and French silk velvet, crushed orange-red Mexican insects, Indian indigo cakes, Brazilian herbs, and rotting Chinese eggs to re-create patterns of the East imported to the gilded Venetian *cinquecento* and the long-buried bronze folds of Ancient Greece as referenced through historical painting and sculpture.

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<sup>152</sup> Ibid. 90.

<sup>153</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V. 497. Collier says he has failed to find these phoenixes in Saint Marks. *Proust and Venice*. 84.

<sup>154</sup> On Proust’s use of the Venetian phoenix see: *Ibid.* 79-93, 103-104, 107-109.

<sup>155</sup> La Fenice, opened in 1789 was rebuilt following fires in 1836 and 1996. See: <[www.teatrolafenice.it](http://www.teatrolafenice.it)>

### CHAPTER 3 PHANTASMAGORIC MACHINES<sup>1</sup>

As an artist in many mediums, Mariano Fortuny took the approach of an inventor, creating new methods and machinery for the development of his designs. Often compared to Leonardo Da Vinci,<sup>2</sup> Fortuny patented a staggering range of inventions. In addition to championing methods of indirect lighting in his domed lamps, the system of coloured electric lighting for theatre productions, and lighting plans for galleries and museums, he also invented his own brand of watercolours, more highly sensitized photographic paper, a machine for pleating wet silk, an improved rotary printer for textiles, a spinning electric lamp for projecting moving clouds, and even a system for ship propulsion.<sup>3</sup> Leaving his mark in these various fields, many of his creations are known simply by the name ‘Fortuny’: decorators and design historians commonly refer to his domed lamps as ‘Fortuny lamps’; his theatre lighting system is known in the history of set design as the ‘Fortuny system’; and in fashion discourse, small precise pleats in delicate fabrics are often called ‘Fortuny pleats’, owing to their likeness to those enduring silk folds made by his patented pleating machine.

In his inventions, Fortuny combined outmoded techniques with modern technologies to conjure historical forms and patterns in dress and textiles, to invert and expand photographic processes, and to create astonishing realism in theatre set design. These areas of his work show the intermingling of revivalist designs, historic techniques, and modern innovation. His velvet cloaks that appeared as re-creations of the brocades and damasks depicted by Carpaccio bore painted patterns instead of woven designs. Fortuny created the pleats of Ancient Greece in his Delphos gown with electric current to warmly press in its pleats. At a time when darkroom enlargers were commonly fitted with electric bulbs for printing negatives, he used natural light; and after theatres began using

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<sup>1</sup> An early draft of portions of this chapter was presented as, ‘Fortuny’s Phantasmagoric Machines’ for the Art History & Visual Studies Research Seminar Series at The University of Manchester, 17 April 2013. Later sections of this chapter benefit from the generous feedback offered by the international community of Wagner scholars after my paper, ‘Wagner and Fortuny: Designs for the Bayreuth Theatre’ given at *Wagner World Wide 2013: Reflections*, a conference honouring Wagner’s bicentennial at The University of Bayreuth, Germany, 12-15 December 2013. I am also grateful to Tash Siddiqui for sending me her unpublished paper, ‘Experimental Wagner production 1900-45’.

<sup>2</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 1, 11, 13.

<sup>3</sup> Not an exhaustive list. See de Osma Index for a complete list of Fortuny’s patents. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 216.



electric light to illuminate stage décor, Fortuny found a way to create the décor from light itself. Swiss lighting reformer Adophe Appia (1862-1928) also sought to eradicate plastic and painted stage sets by utilising light as the substance for theatre décor, and the two innovators collaborated with this goal for a short period of time.<sup>4</sup> However, where these advancements led Appia to design severely abstract avant-garde sets, Fortuny used his inventions – combinations of older stage magic tricks and electric technology – to conjure the Romantic realism and supernaturalism prescribed in Wagnerian opera.

Most of Fortuny's machines were used in service of replication, not only producing multiples, but also in re-creating things: his pleating machine re-created the dress of the Ancient Greek Delphic Charioteer; his rolling textile printers repeated the patterns copied from his antique fabric collection; he used art history slides in his darkroom enlarger to make large photographic reprints of master works; and Fortuny used his theatre lighting system to replicate the sun, moon, and clouds. As former director of *Fondazione Musei Civici di Venezia*<sup>5</sup> Giandomenico Romanelli has summarized, 'infinite mimesis [...] was the soul of Mariano's adventure'.<sup>6</sup> This desire to replicate expresses what Elaine Scarry argues is the nature of beauty. In the beginning of her book *On Beauty and Being Just*, Scarry claims that, 'Beauty brings copies of itself into being. It makes us draw it, take photographs of it, or describe it to other people. Sometimes it gives rise to exact replication and other times to resemblances [...]'.<sup>7</sup> Fortuny used his invented machines to relentlessly repeat images and forms of the past and scenes from nature.

The rise of industrialisation inaugurated the age of the machine in modern society, the age in which Fortuny lived (1871-1949).<sup>8</sup> Machines and their seemingly magic potential was a subject of the new literary genre of science fiction, of which H.G. Wells'

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<sup>4</sup> Some historians say Appia borrowed Fortuny's ideas without giving credit and others say precisely the contrary. Much of what is written about the relationship between the two is speculative. See: Barón-Nusbaum. 'Forgotten Wizard'. 81, 85-87, 90; Carnegy. *Wagner and the Art of the Theatre*. 185-195; de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 63, 65, 75, 77; Franzini. 'Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny'. 79-80.

<sup>5</sup> The Foundation of Civic Museums of Venice, which includes the Fortuny Museum (Palazzo Fortuny).

<sup>6</sup> Romanelli. 'Palazzo Fortuny : The Infinite Necromancer's Space-Machine'. 22.

<sup>7</sup> Elaine Scarry. *On Beauty and Being Just*. (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press) 1999. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Wilson. *Adorned in Dreams*. 60-61.

*The Time Machine* (1895) is considered the first.<sup>9</sup> The work of Wells, along with Jules Verne, inspired early filmmaker and former magician Georges Méliès' (1861-1938) more scientific filmic fantasies, like *The Astronomer's Dream* (1898) and *A Trip to the Moon* (1902).<sup>10</sup> Victorianist Lynda Nead argues that the press coverage surrounding the invention of a giant telescope that was to be exhibited at the Paris Exhibition in 1900 also influenced Méliès' lunar focus.<sup>11</sup> Fortuny, who had Verne's *Autour de la Lune* (*Around the Moon*) in his library, invented a moonlamp to re-create it in his theatre system. Several of his theatre lighting and darkroom devices resemble the optical machines of the late 19th century (magic lantern, camera obscura, telescope).

The modernist emphasis on the mechanistic (fear and fantasy of machines) coincided with the 'golden age' of science fiction<sup>12</sup> and the rise of modern capitalism and fashion.<sup>13</sup> Karl Marx's description of the large-scale factory machine reads like part of a futuristic dystopian novel:

a mechanical monster whose body fills whole factories, and whose demonic power, at first hidden by the slow and measured motions of its gigantic members, finally bursts forth in the fast and feverish whirl of its countless working organs.<sup>14</sup>

This machine augments time: the logical day-night rhythm that formerly dictated labour hours was eradicated by the machine that never sleeps. The modernist acceleration of time (akin to the Futurists' obsession with speed) was inaugurated by the machine, which sped up production. In *Capital*, Marx explains that this accelerated production, even though it shortens labour-time, is used as a way to lengthen the working hours of labourers.

If machinery is the most powerful means of raising the productivity of labour, i.e., of shortening the working time needed to produce a commodity, it is also, as a repository

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<sup>9</sup> Fredric Jameson. *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions*. (London and New York: Verso) 2007. 51.

<sup>10</sup> See: Lynda Nead. *The Haunted Gallery: Painting, Photography, Film c.1900*. (New Haven & London: Yale University Press) 2007. 227-229. Warner. *Phantasmagoria*. 156, 271.

<sup>11</sup> Nead. *The Haunted Gallery*. 267, footnote 39.

<sup>12</sup> Jameson. *Archaeologies of the Future*. 64.

<sup>13</sup> The intertwined histories of capitalism and fashion will be explored later in this chapter.

<sup>14</sup> Marx. *Capital* Vol. I. 503. I am grateful for illuminating discussions on 'the machine' in Marx's *Das Kapital* in Fredric Jameson's seminar at Duke University, Autumn term, 2007.

of capital, the most powerful means of lengthening the working day beyond all natural limits [...].<sup>15</sup> The machine displaces time.<sup>16</sup> Then, are not most machines, in a sense, *time machines*? (It must also be pointed out that Marx's *Capital* was a book about the future; presenting predictions of what was to come as the capitalist system evolved through the modern usages of the machine.<sup>17</sup>)

Focusing on Fortuny's inventions for textiles, photography, and opera, this chapter argues that because his machines produce illusions and manipulate temporality in both the designs they were used to create and in the processes of production, they are phantasmagoric. These machines are agents of phantasmagoria not only because they produce dream-like illusions or visions of the past by a sort of conjuring, but also in the Marxist sense that they produce commodities that will be alienated from the labour used to construct them. As Marx states in *Capital*, '[...], all commodities are merely definite quantities of *congealed labour-time*.'<sup>18</sup> In other words, each object produced contains within it the amount of labour needed to make said object. Marx goes on to say that there is a phantasmagoric value-relation of the commodity because the history of the commodity has been displaced; i.e., the labour behind its production is unseen/unknown.<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, when Marx's *Capital* is translated into English by Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling (1906)<sup>20</sup> and later by Ben Fowkes (1976)<sup>21</sup> 'phantasmagorische' becomes 'fantastic', but is later translated as 'phantasmagoric' in English translations of Walter Benjamin's *Arcades* (by Howard Eiland and Kevin

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.* 526

<sup>16</sup> In *The Arcades Project*, Benjamin wrote in an annotation to *Capital*, 'The tempo of machine operation effects changes in the economic tempo.' Walter Benjamin. 'Dream City and Dream House, Dreams of the Future, ... Jung. *The Arcades Project*. 394.

<sup>17</sup> 'He [Marx] went back to the basic conditions underlying capitalistic production and through his presentation showed what could be expected of capitalism in the future.' Walter Benjamin. 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction'. *Illuminations*. 211-212.

<sup>18</sup> Karl Marx. *Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*. Berlin: 1859. 6 [English translation 30] quoted in Marx. *Capital* Vol. I. 130.

<sup>19</sup> Marx. *Capital* Vol. I. 165.

<sup>20</sup> Margaret Cohen mentions this in a footnote, 'Walter Benjamin's Phantasmagoria'. *New German Critique*. No. 8 (Autumn, 1989) 87-107. 88 footnote 3. Karl Marx. *Capital* Vol. I. Trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling. (New York: Modern Library) 1906. 83.

<sup>21</sup> Marx. *Capital*. Vol. I. 165.

McLaughlin, 1999) where he quotes this exact passage of *Capital*.<sup>22</sup> Benjamin utilizes the term ‘phantasmagoria’ in many instances to describe aspects of 19th-century visual culture.<sup>23</sup> Marx said that consumers would immediately fetishize the product by alienating it from the labour used to produce it.<sup>24</sup> Fortuny, being notoriously secretive about his labour-intensive working processes, would have aided this fetishisation. Even today, besides possessing some knowledge of his patented pleating machine, no one knows exactly how the Delphos gown pleats were achieved. The dyeing and printing processes for his cotton textiles have also been kept secret even as the Fortuny factory continues to produce upholstery fabrics in the same way.<sup>25</sup> When Countess Gozzi took over the factory after Fortuny’s death, she would not let her husband see the upper rooms where printing took place.<sup>26</sup>

This chapter is divided into three parts according to the intended purposes of Fortuny’s machines: for textiles; the darkroom; and for theatre production. Part I, on textile machines, begins with a section on Fortuny’s factory on the Venetian island of Giudecca, which was used for the production of his printed cotton upholstery fabrics. This workspace is perhaps even more secretive than his palazzo. Fortuny’s inventions for the factory were to make the process of creating artistic textiles more efficient. The remainder of Part I evaluates Fortuny’s fashion machines and how the designs they were used to produce have a curious temporality, interrupting the typical flow of time that has been described in the discourse of fashion. The tempo of fashion, in ‘The Age of Mechanical Reproduction’, quickened and, as distinguished dress/fashion historian Elizabeth Wilson has argued, fashion develops alongside and simultaneously drives capitalistic growth.<sup>27</sup> In the same way that the machine augments the temporality of labour, it too affects the temporality of fashion – it causes acceleration. Both Walter Benjamin and Roland Barthes have argued that to perpetuate the continual changes in

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<sup>22</sup> Walter Benjamin. ‘G: Exhibitions, Advertising, Grandville’. *The Arcades Project*. 182. See also: footnote 6, *Ibid*. Cohen also translates it as ‘phantasmagoria’ in ‘Walter Benjamin’s Phantasmagoria’.

<sup>23</sup> Walter Benjamin. ‘K: Dream City and Dream House, Dreams of the Future, Anthropological Nihilism, Jung’. *The Arcades Project*. 389-393. For more on Benjamin’s use of the term ‘phantasmagoria’ see: Cohen, ‘Walter Benjamin’s Phantasmagoria’. Cohen tracks his usage of the term from ‘Paris, Capital of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century’ (1935 and 1939 versions) to *The Arcades Project*.

<sup>24</sup> Marx. *Capital*. Vol. I. 165.

<sup>25</sup> See ‘Phantasmagoric Machines’ 8.

<sup>26</sup> Interview with Marjolaine Piccio. Fortuny Factory, Venice. July 2011.

<sup>27</sup> See particularly: Wilson. *Adorned in Dreams*.

fashion, old forgotten forms are recycled, and re-emerge in the guise of the 'new'. This is what leads Benjamin to famously write that fashion does a 'tiger's leap' into the past,<sup>28</sup> and it is what causes Barthes to wish for a fashion memory machine. This section of 'Phantasmagoric Machines' argues that though Fortuny's clothing designs are indeed resurrections of old forms, they invoke a conscious remembering, while fashion – as Benjamin and Barthes see it – is dependant on the forgetting of past fashions. Fortuny also disrupted the persistent process of creating 'new' forms by continuing to make the same few patented designs throughout his entire career with only very slight modifications.

The last section of Part I compares Fortuny's rejection of new technological advances in artificial dyes and synthetic fibres to contemporary designers in Italy during *il ventennio* who embraced and encouraged their use. And simultaneously, yet slightly paradoxically, it was Fortuny who utilized machines to create his gowns whilst Fascist ministries of fashion urged designers to celebrate hand-made production, which led to their fashion machines being used on the human body rather than on garments.<sup>29</sup>

Part II examines Fortuny's darkroom machines as devices for replication and inversion. Fortuny projected, enlarged, and printed images from his collection of art history slides. In addition to his painted copies of these images from the Italian Renaissance paintings, and his materialisation of the clothes in these scenes, he duplicated them photographically as well. Just as Proust sat in his dark bedroom studying photographic reproductions and photographs of people to be used as models for characters in his novel, Fortuny would zoom in and fixate on details of these images from the history of art before fixing them onto enormous sheets of sensitized paper. Also like Proust, who inverts the sexual desire of several characters through his narrator peeking into rooms to expose (to the reader) their homosexuality, Fortuny's photographic devices invert the function of light and darkness, of interior and exterior by using natural light from his darkroom window like an architectural oculus or the aperture of a camera obscura.

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<sup>28</sup> Walter Benjamin. 'Theses on the Philosophy of History'. *Illuminations*. 252-253. This phrase is often invoked in writings on fashion theory in the past twenty years, perhaps most notably it begat the title for Ulrich Lehmann's book: *Tigersprung: Fashion in Modernity*. (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press) 2000.

<sup>29</sup> Lupano and Vaccari, eds. *Fashion in the Time of Fascism*. 10, 18-21, 54-58.

Fortuny also inverted inside and outside when he created a collapsible theatre to be installed inside the home of a wealthy Parisian patron. In Part III, the interior space of performance will be compared to Proust's théâtrophone, an invention of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century which allowed subscribers to hear operas and concerts from the privacy of their homes. Adapting his collapsible indoor theatre, Fortuny developed a design for a transportable theatre to be used in the initiative for public theatre performances under the Fascist regime's interest in acculturating the masses. Fortuny's folded theatres were used in variety of places: bourgeois Parisian interiors; avant-garde German theatres; and public displays of Italian nationalism.

The last section of 'Phantasmagoric Machines' considers the lighting inventions that comprise 'The Fortuny System' of theatre lighting, and argues that these machines combine newer electric technology with older, outmoded stage magic tricks. Fortuny's enchantment with the German composer inspired and directed his ideas for innovations in theatrical scenery. Integral to understanding Fortuny's system is the role of Wagner's ideals for the theatre, therefore this section will examine Wagner's wish for an 'invisible theatre'.

## **Part I. Textile Machines**

### **Factory Textiles**

In 1918, after the first World War, demand for both Fortuny's clothing and furnishing fabric designs grew despite his increased prices due to the rising cost of raw materials.<sup>30</sup> To accommodate printing on wider rolls for furnishing fabrics, Fortuny converted an abandoned convent on the island of Giudecca into a factory. (Fig. 35) With the help of Giancarlo Stucky, friend and owner of the Stucky flourmill next door to the factory, Fortuny installed his specially designed machinery for the production of his uniquely printed textiles.<sup>31</sup> Four years later, remodelling was complete and production began for the fabrics that remained immensely popular throughout the twenties. While the daily manufacturing of his fashion designs was overseen at the palazzo by his wife Henriette, Fortuny used to row himself across the lagoon to the factory on Giudecca to work.

Fortuny's textile machines combine technologies of the old and new – the

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<sup>30</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 144-147.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 147. The Stucky mill is now a Hilton hotel.

outmoded and the inventive. As described by Proust's character Elstir; '[...] I hear that a Venetian artist, called Fortuny, has rediscovered the secret of the craft, [...]'<sup>32</sup>. Fortuny continued to use natural dyes and fabrics, resisting the new modern synthetic fabrics<sup>33</sup> and chemical dyes that were encouraged, in the name of efficiency and self-sufficiency, by ruling Fascists.<sup>34</sup> The printing process for the textile designs was based on the old processes of the Middle Ages, but Fortuny invented a new way of block printing through his design of a rolling fabric printer that was more sensitive than the mechanical rolling systems invented in the 19th century.<sup>35</sup> (Fig. 65) He invented new machinery for an old process.

The layout of the factory on Giudecca is very similar to that of the Palazzo Orfei, in that spaces are organized vertically by level of intimacy. The engraving and carving of metal and wooden plates for printing took place on the lower level, and the entirety of the highly secretive dyeing and printing processes took place on the upper level. Even currently, as the Fortuny factory continues to produce fabrics, boasting strict adherence to Fortuny's methods, approximately only twelve of the twenty-five workers are privy to the top floor.<sup>36</sup> The curtains in the windows of the upper rooms are quickly drawn when visitors are on site.<sup>37</sup> The door in the ground floor's showroom that leads upstairs is heavily frosted and always locked, as only few are allowed in and out. The presence of the door itself in the showroom draws attention to the inaccessibility of the secret labour. As it was when Fortuny ran the factory, no single worker knows the entire process. This division of labour was (and is) customary, not only for efficiency (each worker specialising in their specific contribution), but to preserve the secrets of production and prevent copies and forgeries. Fashion historian Caroline Evans notes that this was common practice in couture houses in late 19<sup>th</sup>- and early 20<sup>th</sup>-century Paris, where production often resembled the Ford assembly line.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. II. *Within a Budding Grove*. 653.

<sup>33</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 110-115, 119.

<sup>34</sup> Alessandra Vaccari. Interviewed by author. Venice. 26 January 2012.

<sup>35</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 115.

<sup>36</sup> Piccio. Interviewed by author.

<sup>37</sup> This happened on my visit in March 2013 as I stood in the garden just beneath the upper windows, inquiring again about the layout of the factory.

<sup>38</sup> Evans primarily mentions Worth and Chanel. I am grateful to Caroline Evans for generously sending me the manuscript of her chapter, 'Architecture: Factories of Elegance' which has now been published in her book, *The Mechanical Smile: Modernism*

After a short hiatus following Fortuny's death, his friend and American business associate Countess Elsie Gozzi took over the factory's production.<sup>39</sup> It is rumoured that while living on the factory's grounds, Countess Gozzi did not even allow her husband to see the second floor dyeing and printing spaces of the factory.<sup>40</sup> Fortuny's company was registered as *Società Anonima Fortuny* and was changed to *Tessuti Artistica Fortuny* after Countess Gozzi reopened the factory in the 1952.<sup>41</sup> Towards the end of her life, she persuaded her Egyptian-American lawyer to take over the company. It is his sons Mickey and Maury Riad that currently manage *Fortuny, Inc.*, adding and expanding the range of products beyond Fortuny's printed cotton fabrics.<sup>42</sup> A crucial part of the narrative that is perpetuated in the Fortuny showrooms in Venice and New York is that the same machinery invented by Fortuny is still used within the factory and that it would be impossible to manufacture these Fortuny fabrics anywhere except on the Venetian lagoon. Beyond these more technical aspects, the emphasis on the mysterious creation of these fabrics is central to the brand's image.

Though an in-depth study of Fortuny's furnishing fabrics – their historically inspired design and proliferation – would certainly yield further insight to his overall identity as an artist/designer, it is not within the scope of this thesis.<sup>43</sup> The aim of this brief section on his factory textiles has been to demonstrate how the secrecy of the workspace and the historical impetus behind utilising modern technical innovation are evident across all of Fortuny's work.

### **The Phantasmagoria of Fashion**<sup>44</sup>

As we have seen in the previous chapter, Fortuny's clothing designs made direct reference to historic styles. Proust's character Elstir infers that to make these re-creations

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*and the First Fashion Shows in France and America, 1900-1929*. (New Haven: Yale University Press) 2013. 139-162.

<sup>39</sup> Also known as Elsie Lee (*née* McNeill). For more information see: de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 190-202.

<sup>40</sup> Piccio. Interviewed by author.

<sup>41</sup> Franzini. 'Breve biografia di un arcano maestro del tessuto'. 122.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 123 and Piccio. Interviewed by author.

<sup>43</sup> Such a study would be most expertly written by Doretta Davanzo Poli, the Venetian historian of textiles who has catalogued Fortuny's collections of antique fabrics.

<sup>44</sup> A phrase I borrow from Benjamin *The Arcades Project*. 80, used to introduce a quote by Henri Focillon *Vie des forms*.



of the garb of ‘the Doges’ ladies’, Fortuny has ‘rediscovered the secret of the craft’.<sup>45</sup> Implicit in his comment is the belief that to make these older styles, Fortuny must have recovered old, forgotten techniques. To a degree, this is correct. But as previously mentioned, the patterned velvets were not woven – they were painted on with stencils and inked blocks. They were fabricated quite a different way than those garments they emulate. Fortuny did study the older methods of clothing production, especially the recipes of dyers,<sup>46</sup> but his processes were a combination of these old ‘secret[s] of the craft’ along with newer innovations. Also seen in Chapter 1, Fortuny’s palazzo was the site of creation for the clothing designs, largely overseen by Henriette. This domestic working space housed vats for dyeing the silks and silk-velvets, the electric machine for pleating the silk that comprised the Delphos and Peplos gowns and part of the Eleonora dress, tables for printing patterns on the velvets and sheer tunics (and some of the silk gowns), and racks for drying them. This section will not only look at Fortuny’s invented machine for the pleating, but also at how machines affected the temporality of modern fashion, and how the temporality of fashion (which relies on forgetfulness) inspired Barthes to conceive of a sartorial memory machine. To begin, let us turn to the quickened rhythms of modern fashion, accelerated by machines.

The phantasmagoric nature of clothing as commodity begins where the histories of capitalism and fashion are intertwined. In her study of fashion and modernity, Elizabeth Wilson calls fashion ‘the child of capitalism’;<sup>47</sup> and in Susan Buck-Morss’ study of Benjamin’s *Arcades* she notes that, ‘In fashion, the phantasmagoria of commodities presses closest to the skin.’<sup>48</sup> World trade – the start of modern capitalism in the 16th century<sup>49</sup> – was responsible for the exchange of textiles and clothing in urban

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<sup>45</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. II. 654.

<sup>46</sup> These are held in his library. Franzini. Interviewed by author. Palazzo Fortuny. 22 June 2011.

<sup>47</sup> Wilson. *Adorned in Dreams*. 13. Wilson continues: ‘Fashion *speaks* capitalism. Capitalism maims, kills, appropriates, lays waste. It also creates great wealth and beauty, together with a yearning for lives and opportunities that remain just beyond our reach. It manufactures dreams and images as well as things, and fashion is as much a part of the dream world of capitalism as of its economy.’ 14.

<sup>48</sup> Buck-Morss. *The Dialectics of Seeing*. 97.

<sup>49</sup> ‘The circulation of commodities is the starting-point of capital. The production of commodities and their circulation in its developed form, namely trade, form the historic presuppositions under which capital arises. World trade and the world market date from the sixteenth century, and from then on the modern history of capital starts to unfold.’ Marx. *Capital*. Vol. I. 247.

settings, which served as the catalyst for what we now call ‘fashion’.<sup>50</sup> This is what Carpaccio documented in his scenes of *The Meeting of the Betrothed* (1495) from the cycle of *The Legend of Saint Ursula*, where Oriental fabrics are being brought in by traders. Carpaccio’s scene recalls Venice – a major port city of extreme wealth in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. As Wilson asserts, ‘Fashion, in fact, originates in [...] the early capitalist city. Fashion “links beauty, success and the city”. [...] Fashion, then, is essential to the world of modernity [...]’.<sup>51</sup>

In modern fashion, the quick tempo of machines sped the tempo of changing styles. The augmentation of time as a result of mechanical advances was expressed in the modelling of multiple outfit changes during the modern woman’s day. ‘The elegant lady’s 24 hours’ included outfits for each segment of her day: morning walk, sport, lunches, afternoon visits, evening balls or gala dinners, and dress for toilette.<sup>52</sup> Where the speed of new machine production caused the inhuman[e] lengthening of the working day (the machine never sleeps), it also created further demarcations in the day of leisure, each portion of this non-laboured time requiring its own dress, effectually multiplying the wardrobes of the upper classes.

Like capitalism, fashion is dependent on a lack of stasis – a seemingly never-ending ambiguity and fluidity: change is fertile ground. In studies of fashion it is often noted that the constant change in styles is a force to drive economic gains.<sup>53</sup> However, this is not the case for Fortuny’s clothing designs. Because he continued to make the same set of forms (the Delphos/Peplos gowns, capes, cloaks, and tunics) with an adherence to his own defined revivalist aesthetic, some have even said he was a designer

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<sup>50</sup> For more on early textile trading see: Monnas. *Merchants, Princes and Painters*.

<sup>51</sup> Elizabeth Wilson. *Adorned in Dreams*. 9 (footnote 9: Here quoting Franco Moretti *Signs Taken for Wonders*. 113), 12.

<sup>52</sup> Lupano and Vaccari, eds. ‘Chronometer of Fashion’. *Fashion at the Time of Fascism*. 62; see also Introduction 10.

<sup>53</sup> ‘Because the origins and rise of fashion were so closely linked with the development of mercantile capitalism, economic explanations of fashion phenomenon have always been popular. It was easy to believe that the function of fashion stemmed from capitalism’s need for perpetual expansion, which encouraged consumption. At its crudest, this kind of explanation assumes that changes in fashion are foisted upon us, especially on women, in a conspiracy to persuade us to consume far more than we “need” to. Without this disease of ‘consumerism’ capitalism would collapse.’ Wilson. *Adorned in Dreams*. 49.

outside of fashion.<sup>54</sup> In his biography of Fortuny, de Osma states that: ‘Fortuny invented fashion outside of fashion, fashion that does not change, fashion as art.’<sup>55</sup> This is, of course, a quixotic notion that assumes that art is not bound to temporality, as opposed to fashion’s chronology, which is more easily punctuated by seasonal changes and, as Roland Barthes examined, is surrounded by a perpetual discourse that controls the speed at which fashion evolves.<sup>56</sup> Wilson claims that ‘no clothes are outside fashion; [...]’.<sup>57</sup> But Wilson has also defined fashion as a continual changing of styles of clothing over time,<sup>58</sup> rendering Fortuny’s clothes in a curious position between being both inside and outside of the system of fashion and the tempo at which it flows. For instance, on the timeline of their fashion collections, which is organized by decades as units of time, The Kyoto Costume Institute situates Fortuny between 1910-1920, even though he continued to create his patented designs until his death in 1949.<sup>59</sup> Here Fortuny’s designs again recall Serres’ fluid time analogy, that time simultaneously passes and does not pass – that more like the French word ‘*passoir*’, it goes through a sieve: ‘time doesn’t flow, it percolates’.<sup>60</sup> Fortuny’s designs seem to have been within the system of fashion but, as it flows on, his creations are the bits that do not pass – they are what remain, resistant to what will become the chronology of fashion.

The dream world of fashion promotes a desire for the latest fashion, but Fortuny’s designs fulfil the desire to wear a past fashion, to be wrapped with history. Fortuny’s

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<sup>54</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 122.

<sup>55</sup> He continues: ‘It is hard to imagine a woman today wearing a Poiret, a Paquin or a Patou. Dresses by these well-known designers and fashion innovators are marked by the stigma of fashion: they were created with the notion that they would not be used the following season or the following year, when they would in any case have lost their magic. Fortuny’s by contrast, are timeless clothes.’ de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 119. This intersection of fashion and art, or fashion as art, has been engaged with by the exhibitions at The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, overseen by the Costume Institute there. The Institute’s space was recently renamed for the *Vogue* (US) editor Anna Wintour. The fashion exhibitions have become a more prominent fixture at the MET in the past five years as they staged the enormous, lavishly funded retrospectives of Alexander McQueen (2011), Elsa Schiaparelli and Miuccia Prada (2012), and Charles James (2014). French designer Christian Dior (1905-1957) also considered himself an ‘artist’. See: Wilson. *Adorned in Dreams*. 88, 90, 136.

<sup>56</sup> This will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

<sup>57</sup> Wilson. *Adorned in Dreams*. 3.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> ‘Collections the 1910s’. The Kyoto Costume Institute Digital Archives. (Tokyo) <[http://www.kci.or.jp/archives/digital\\_archives/collection\\_1910s\\_e.html](http://www.kci.or.jp/archives/digital_archives/collection_1910s_e.html)>

<sup>60</sup> Serres. *Conversations on Science, Culture, and Time*. 58.

designs could be (and have been) situated in the world of fashion beside some designs by Paul Poiret (1879-1944), and those by Léon Bakst (1866-1924) for the Ballets Russes. However, instead of evolving and changing his designs along with the modernist turn away from revivalism towards Futurist aesthetics, he defied the laws of capitalism and fashion by continuing to produce the same designs for over 40 years. Though other designers kept a sense of continuity over years (like the Chanel suit) the steadfastness with which Fortuny continued his patented designs is unparalleled.

### **Forgetful Fashions: Barthes' Sartorial Time Machine**

The pleating machine that Fortuny invented to create the folds of his Delphos gown was patented in 1909.<sup>61</sup> (Fig. 51) Fortuny's process of pleating the silk for the gowns was, and still is, highly secretive. It remains unknown how exactly the process worked and some speculate that the pleating took place while the silk was wet, or even underwater.<sup>62</sup> Fittingly, Proust's sartorial symbol of the watery city of Venice was made in a watery process. (Plate 30) Fortuny's method for pleating silk resembled the curling of women's hair through the use of heated tubes – in both, the electric currents produced in silk and hair, undulating currents like those in the sea.<sup>63</sup> In the patent for the pleating machine, Fortuny himself likens the pleating effect to creating a cloth of wavy hair.<sup>64</sup> (Fig. 66) A 1931 Italian advertisement shows a hairdresser setting the electrified curlers for a woman's permanent.<sup>65</sup> (Fig. 67) The beautician looks somewhat like a mad scientist. The wrists and chest of his customer are strapped to the chair, making her more resemble a patient receiving electro-shock therapy.

The process for Fortuny's silk was also somewhat like cooking with a *bain-marie*: the water is added to gently warm the delicate materials and prevent burning, which is sometimes caused by dry heat.<sup>66</sup> (*Zabaglione*, the Italian crême anglaise dessert that is

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<sup>61</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 99.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> Memoria descrittiva di brevetto d'invenzioneL « memoire descriptif depose a l'appui d'unde damnde de brevet d'invention formee par Monsieur Mariano Fortuny Genre d'etoffe plissee ondulee » 10 June 1909. Il Fondo Mariutti at Biblioteca Marciana Nazionale. [M8.1.2]

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>65</sup> Permanent waves at the hairdresser's. Illustration Casolaro. *Sovrana*, V, n.4 (April) 1931. Courtesy BCSAC" reproduced in *Fashion in the time of Fascism*.

<sup>66</sup> I am grateful to Alistair O'Neill for providing this comparison in a discussion we had in London, January 2013.

cooked in a *bain marie*, was also the name of one of the colours in which the Delphos gown was available.)<sup>67</sup> In another victory against the flow of time, most Delphos gowns still hold their pleats even today, having been stored in twisted coils. (Plates 31a,b, Fig. 68)

Pleating together the form of Ancient Greece, the patterns of the East, the colours of Renaissance Venice, Fortuny not only makes the ‘tiger’s leap’ into the past for inspiration, but as was argued in ‘Pleated Time’, he folds together multiple times in a sort of topographical pleat that metaphorically mirrors his literal pleating. In Thesis 14 of his ‘Theses on the Philosophy of History’, Benjamin claims that fashion ‘is a tiger’s leap into the past.’<sup>68</sup> Despite the continual changes in fashion, it is not a genuine newness that fashion provides, but rather a continual return of older forms utilized in different ways. Because of this, Barthes and Benjamin argue that forgetting is a crucial element in the production of fashion. The old resurfaces as the new, but it is unrecognized. Benjamin pushes this idea further when he says in his *Arcades* notes that, ‘Every current of fashion or of worldview derives its force from what is forgotten.’<sup>69</sup> This resonates with Fortuny’s own recorded claim that ‘Nothing is new in this world’,<sup>70</sup> which echoes the refrain from the first chapter of the ancient Hebraic book of Ecclesiastes, ‘There is nothing new under the sun’.<sup>71</sup> (The beginning of this verse even performs it: ‘What has been will be again, what has been done will be done again [...]’.<sup>72</sup>)

Barthes argues that fashion, specifically the discourse of fashion as expressed in magazines, is dependent on this forgetfulness for its appearance of newness:

[...] Fashion tames the new even before producing it and so accomplishes that paradox in which the “new” is both unpredictable and yet already decreed. Thus, with long-term memory abolished and with time reduced to the duo of that which is rejected and that which is inaugurated, pure Fashion, logical Fashion is never anything other than the *amnesiac*

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<sup>67</sup> See: the inventory of Fortuny garments at the end of: Deschodt and Poli. *The Magician of Venice*.

<sup>68</sup> Benjamin. ‘Theses on the Philosophy of History’. *Illuminations*. 252-253. This follows the epigraph: ‘Origin in the goal.’ - Karl Kraus, *Worte in Versen*, Vol. I.

<sup>69</sup> Benjamin. ‘Dream City and Dream House, Dreams of the Future, ... Jung’. *The Arcades Project*. 393.

<sup>70</sup> This is Fortuny’s preface statement in: Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*.

<sup>71</sup> Ecclesiastes 1:9. *Holy Bible*. New International Version. 2011.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* and verse 10 continues: ‘Is there anything of which one can say, “Look! This is something new”? It was here already, long ago; it was here before our time.’

*substitution* of the present for the past. We could almost speak of a *Fashion neurosis*.<sup>73</sup>

Forgetting is crucial for fashion to be able to continue presenting the ‘new’. In a collective amnesia of the historical past, fashion returns again and again (neurotically, as Barthes might say) to resurrect old forms as new ones.

Benjamin writes in one of his succinct fragments for the ‘Fashion’ section of the *Arcades Project*: ‘Fashions are the medicament that is to compensate for the fateful effects of forgetting, on a collective scale.’<sup>74</sup> It is important to note that Benjamin does not say fashion is an act of remembering, but of *compensating* for forgetting – like the ‘*amnesiac substitution*’ that Barthes describes.

Barthes argues that due to the continual return of these forgotten past forms, of which he claims there is a finite number, a history of fashion is unavoidably cyclical:

[...] fashion can easily produce its own rhythm: changes of forms have a relative independence in relation to the general history that supports them, even to the extent where fashion has only a *finite* number of archetypal forms, all of which implies, in the end, a partially cyclical history; [...].<sup>75</sup>

These returning finite forms are, by Benjamin, linked to the idea of an ‘eternal return’. In Benjamin’s ‘Exposé of 1939’, he describes Auguste Blanqui’s metaphysical examination of the idea of ‘eternal return’ – eternity filled with infinite combinations of the finite – as a ‘cosmic phantasmagoria’<sup>76</sup>. Though this phrase ‘eternal return’ is more often known from the work of Nietzsche, Benjamin examines this concept through the writing of Blanqui, whom he argues, presented the idea ‘ten years before *Zarathustra*’.<sup>77</sup> Benjamin continues, ‘Blanqui here strives to trace an image of progress that (immemorial antiquity parading as up-to-date novelty) turns out to be the phantasmagoria of history

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<sup>73</sup> Roland Barthes ‘Showing How Rhetoric Works’. *The Language of Fashion*. 108-112. 111.

<sup>74</sup> Here I have chosen to quote from the Rolf Tiedemann translation of this passage from Benjamin. *The Arcades Project*. (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press) 1999. V., 131 (B9a, 1), as quoted in Buck-Morss. *The Dialectics of Seeing*. 98. In the Eiland and McLaughlin translation that I otherwise use, this passage is found on page 80.

<sup>75</sup> Barthes ‘History and Sociology of Clothing’. *The Language of Fashion*. 3-19. 6. See also footnotes 10, 11, 12.

<sup>76</sup> Benjamin. ‘Exposé of 1939’. *The Arcades Project*. 25-26

<sup>77</sup> Benjamin is referring to Nietzsche’s *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*. (1883-1891) *Ibid*. 25.

itself.<sup>78</sup> The ‘phantasmagoria of history’ is the hallucinatory image of linear progress that appears from the continual presentation of a counterfeit newness.

Like the ‘eternal return’, the infinite progression of fashion is filled with only finite forms and consequently finite combinations. For Barthes, the mythology of fashion is built on the illusion of ‘the abundance of forms.’<sup>79</sup> Since the continuation of fashion is dependent on a collective amnesia of forms, Barthes suggests some sort of machine-memory that could be invented for fashion, so that all possible combinations could be calculated and all future fashions predicted.<sup>80</sup>

[...] the play of combinations easily goes beyond, if only by a little, any human memory of these forms. But all that would be needed would be to build a mathematical memory (as a machine for making fashion), for fashion to appear, [...], to be a limited and essentially computable set of forms: this is a shocking truth for a commerce based entirely on the exaltation of incessant newness, but useful precisely for an understanding of how an ideology *turns* the real *inside out*.<sup>81</sup>

Barthes’ fashion machine is not for creating fashion, but for superseding human memory to be able to recall all past forms, and therefore predict all future combinations. This memory-machine would unravel the illusion of ‘incessant newness’ that results from forgetting.

Continuing from his thought that fashion’s power is owed to forgetfulness, Benjamin says that ‘The downstream flow [of what has been forgotten] is ordinarily so strong that only the group can give itself up to it; [...]’.<sup>82</sup> Fashion, as a system whose speed is controlled by mechanical production and textual discourse, gives way to the crushing currents of continuously recycled forms; it proliferates at a speed that renders the work of remembering almost insurmountable. The individual apart from the group, as Benjamin continues, may attempt to resist being swept along these currents but, as happened to Proust, the ‘phenomenon of remembrance’ can cause the individual ‘to

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<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* 25.

<sup>79</sup> Barthes. ‘Blue is in Fashion this Year’. *The Language of Fashion*. 37-53. 50.

<sup>80</sup> Barthes. ‘Blue is in Fashion This Year.’ *The Language of Fashion*. 50.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> Benjamin *Arcades*. 393 (K2a, 3)

collapse in the face of such violence.<sup>83</sup>

Fortuny, like Proust, attempted remembrance. Again, Fortuny's designs are like the percolated bits of fluid time that do not flow along with the current. His garments quite obviously reference their past forms without the pretence of being something new. Fortuny's designs are about remembering. In *À la recherche*, they are a device for memory (a *leitmotiv*) and an emblem of memory. Instead of disguising the old as new, Fortuny presents the old as just that: the past reincarnate. Fortuny's revival of old forms of dress is intended to provoke memory, unlike modern and contemporary fashion, which Barthes and Benjamin argue is dependent on forgetting.

Fortuny's tiger's leap into the past is different from most other fashion designers, because as Benjamin and Barthes have argued, fashion presents the old as new. Fortuny revived styles of the past in such a way as to call attention to their historical influence. His Delphos gown is supposed to consciously recall Ancient Greece, and his velvet capes are meant to conjure the Venetian masters of the *cinquecento*, just as they did to Proust's narrator standing in the Accademia.<sup>84</sup>

### **Fashion Machines in *Il Ventennio***

By not contributing to the 'incessant newness' of fashion, Fortuny does not add to the hallucinatory projection of linear progress. This 'overcom[ing] of the ideology of progress'<sup>85</sup> is what Benjamin sees as crucial to a dialectical approach to history. For Benjamin, commitment to the ideology of progress is '[o]ne reason why Fascism has a chance [...]', as people will accept it as part of a historical process.<sup>86</sup>

As mentioned in 'Pleated Time', Fortuny was not aligned with those that utilized nationalist ideology as a catalyst for the modernist obsession with efficiency. Unlike the Italian Futurists, Fortuny was not interested in the aestheticism of politics or

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<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.* It is Benjamin who uses Proust as an example of the individual attempting the 'phenomenon of remembrance' and ultimately collapsing.

<sup>84</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. VI, *Time Regained*. 876-878.

<sup>85</sup> Benjamin. 'Dream City and Dream House, Dreams of the Future, ... Jung'. *The Arcades Project*. 392.

<sup>86</sup> Benjamin. 'Theses on the Philosophy of History'. *Illuminations*. 249.



the politicisation of aesthetics.<sup>87</sup> In one of many manifestos, founding Futurist Filippo Tommaso Marinetti aggressively repeats the claim ‘War is beautiful [...],’ citing violent destruction as part of ‘an aesthetics of war’.<sup>88</sup> It is with Marinetti’s words describing this violent aesthetic that Benjamin closes his essay on how machines affect the production of art – thereby enunciating the link between the machine and the Futurist aestheticisation of war.<sup>89</sup>

In their investigation of fashion during *il ventennio*<sup>90</sup>, Alessandra Vaccari and Mario Lupano include a section on the machines used for the practical beautification of the Italian people.<sup>91</sup> What is striking in comparison to Fortuny’s use of machines for the manipulation of fabric is that these ‘beauty machines’ were used for people – on their bodies: invented machines for improving muscle tone and for artificial sunbathing; electric machines for augmenting the face and for hair permanents.<sup>92</sup> (Fig. 67) The machines that were invented by more mainstream designers in Fascist Italy for the manufacture of clothes were used on the body and rather than on the materials themselves. Metal instruments were created for a precise measurement of each body so that pieces could be tailored very specifically.<sup>93</sup> (Fig. 69) This is quite antithetical to Fortuny’s Delphos gown, which came in no specific sizes, and due to the pleating and open lacing, could adapt to the changing size of its wearer. The machine-made pleats adjusted to the form of the body, whereas the state-endorsed tailored suits of *il ventennio* allowed for very little flexibility of the human form. Resonating with Marx’s claim that ‘Machinery is misused in order to transform the worker, from his very childhood, into a part of a specialized machine’,<sup>94</sup> the beautified Italian body becomes part of the machine, as opposed to wearing clothes made by the machine. Marx contrasts the modern use of the large-scale machine to the former labour systems where machines were used as tools for the artisan/maker and the human always dominated the machine. (Marx’s fear for the

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<sup>87</sup> ‘The logical result of Fascism is the introduction of aesthetics into political life.’ Benjamin. ‘The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction’. *Illuminations*. 234.

<sup>88</sup> Benjamin quotes Marinetti in *Ibid.* 234-235.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>90</sup> ‘The twenty years’, a phrase used commonly to refer to the twenty years of Fascist rule in Italy.

<sup>91</sup> ‘Beauty Machines’. *Fashion in the Time of Fascism*. 54-58

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> ‘Taking Measurements.’ *Ibid.* 18-21.

<sup>94</sup> Marx. *Capital* Vol. I. 547.

worker was the reversal of this power relation.) Perhaps surprisingly, the prominent designers of *il ventennio* and various state-sponsored fashion societies promoted hand-making clothes, as evidenced by the popular slogan, ‘*Industria tessile senza macchine*’.<sup>95</sup> In a strange inversion, the human body would be measured and augmented with machines, but clothing would be manufactured by hand.<sup>96</sup>

It would be a mistake, however, to claim this perspective for all clothing design during *il ventennio*, even from designers who supported Fascism. Of course there is no singular aesthetic of modernism in fashion, and no style is ever permanently eradicated – despite the government’s prohibition of the use of specific imported materials and the blatantly propagandistic commands from the Futurists to discontinue certain less structured forms.<sup>97</sup> The Romantic revivalist aesthetic was still to be found into the 1930s-40s in Europe and North America. And even during Italy’s *ventennio*, revivalism was a common trope used to evoke nationalist pride.<sup>98</sup> For example, the National Fashion Show (*VI Mostra nazionale della moda*) that took place in Turin in autumn 1935 showcased fashion inspired by historic Italian art objects.<sup>99</sup> Coinciding with this show, Lucio Ridenti wrote in *Natura* that the recent exhibition *L’art italien de Cimabue à Tiepolo*, held in spring of 1935 at the Petit Palais in Paris, would have an effect on current fashion.<sup>100</sup> He suggested that the colours of the season would be ‘Titian red, Giorgione green, Bronzino blue and Angelico pink.’<sup>101</sup> It is worth noting that this description was from more than ten years after Proust called the lining of Albertine’s Fortuny gown ‘Tiepolo pink’.<sup>102</sup> (Plate

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<sup>95</sup> ‘Textile industry without machinery’. *Fashion in the Time of Fascism*. 12.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> ‘Pleated Times’ and ‘Introduction’ discuss the Futurist’s directives regarding Romantic fashion and autarkic Fascist polices against importing.

<sup>98</sup> This often included a sort of ‘nostalgia for ancient imperial *Romanità*’. Fogu. *The Historic Imaginary*. 23.

<sup>99</sup> ‘Italian Art in Paris’. *Fashion at the Time of Fascism*. 248.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* quoting Ridenti (1935) 32.

<sup>102</sup> In *The Captive*. Quoted in Eric Karpeles. *Paintings in Proust*. 260. Note for Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696-1770) *The Triumph of Zephyr and Flora (Allegory of Spring)*. 1734. Ca Rezzonico, Venice: ‘In contrast to his extractions from the other Venetian masters, Proust does not scavenge Tiepolo’s paintings for imagery or historical documentation, but solely to draw brilliant hues for his sumptuous descriptions of women’s clothing. His other three references to the artist in the novel include the “Tiepolo pink” of Odette’s tea gown in *Within a Budding Grove*, a splash of “Tiepolo red” in one of the Duchesse de Guermantes’s evening wraps in *Sodom and Gomorrah*, as well as her “Tiepolo cloak” with its band of rubies.’ *Ibid.* 341.

35)

For Proust, Fortuny's gowns were anachronistic, better at conjuring the age of the Renaissance in Italy than the actual era in which they were created. In addition to Proust's other memorialising uses of Fortuny gowns in his novel, they also symbolize the passing of the era of the aristocracy in Paris. Proust uses the Fortuny dresses as a symbol of the remains of the elegant past that he feels does not otherwise exist in modernist fashion. In *La Captive*, it is the Duchess de Guermantes, Proust's beacon of bourgeois decadence, who wears these indoor tea gowns, which he compares to others: 'The dresses of today have less character, always excepting the creations of Fortuny.'<sup>103</sup> It is not surprising that when the narrator later describes the modern fashions that have arisen from war – direct appropriations of military garb or 'rings or bracelets made out of fragments of exploded shells or copper bands from 75 millimetre ammunition'<sup>104</sup> – that he seems to find them distasteful, as he sarcastically quotes a fictional fashion magazine and imaginary disingenuous wearers.<sup>105</sup>

Contrary to the way the Duchess de Guermantes gracefully wears her Fortuny gown inside her home, years later Albertine will wear hers outdoors on a drive to Versailles. In the same conversation between the narrator, Elstir, and Albertine where the painter tells Albertine of Fortuny's revival of older dress styles through the 'rediscovery of the craft, [...]'<sup>106</sup>, he also addresses future fashions. Albertine asks, "'Tell me, do you think women's fashions for motoring pretty?'" "No," replied Elstir, "but that will come in time."<sup>107</sup> The invention of a driving machine created another demarcated area of modern life that needed dressing. Much later than this scene with Elstir, is arguably one of the most modern scenes in Proust's *À la recherche*. The narrator and Albertine go on a drive to Versailles, and as he revels in the blueness of the sky, he is interrupted when Albertine points out that the buzzing he hears is not a wasp, but an aeroplane.<sup>108</sup> After returning to his room at home, the narrator 'heard with joy the sound of a motor-car under my window. I recognized its petrol smell. [...] this smell of petrol, which with the smoke that was escaping from the machine, had so many times risen into the pale azure sky,'

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<sup>103</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V. *The Captive*. 34.

<sup>104</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. VI, *Time Regained*. 49.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.* 49-50.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. II, *Within a Budding Grove*. 653.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.* 655.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. V, *The Captive*. 546

conjuring pleasant past memories.<sup>109</sup> It is not the new motoring fashions that Albertine wears in this modern scene, but rather a Fortuny gown and cape.<sup>110</sup> Proust has his female lead wear a revivalist gown, steeped in history, in a scene filled with descriptions of modernity's new machines. Albertine was light and weightless, reading 'wrapped in a Fortuny dressing-gown' when the narrator asks her to go to on the drive to Versailles.<sup>111</sup> She agrees to come if they 'don't get out of the carriage', and she throws on a Fortuny cloak over her gown.<sup>112</sup> The unhappy lover herself is poised to take flight, and the Fortuny cloak she dons to cover her revealing dressing gown keeps her weighed down only until morning when Albertine (*La Captive*) flees her captor (Proust's narrator), which makes the scene with the Fortuny gown and aeroplanes and automobiles their last evening together.<sup>113</sup> The end of the narrator's love affair perfectly matches Proust's 'Fortuny *leitmotiv*' that was planned to be 'sensual, poetic and sorrowful'.<sup>114</sup> In Proust's novel, Fortuny's gowns elegize the relationship between Albertine and the narrator as well as the denouement of French aristocratic culture, as the world around them is transformed by war and mechanized industrialisation.

## **PART II Darkroom Machines**

### **Replications: 'Infinite Mimesis'<sup>115</sup>**

This section briefly describes the machines used in Fortuny's darkroom and the way they intersect with Proust's machines of the interior: the camera; the magic lantern; and the théâtrophone. Having already explained the use of these devices in chapters one and two, this section will centre more on the overlapping qualities of the machines. As it was in the section on the darkroom space in Palazzo Orfei discussed in 'Secret Spaces',

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<sup>109</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V, *The Prisoner*. Trans. Carol Clark. (London: Allen Lane) 2002. 380. I have, for this scene, chosen to quote from a different (newer) English translation of Proust's *La Captive* than the Kilmartin translations used throughout most of the thesis.

<sup>110</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V, *The Captive*. 546.

<sup>111</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V, *The Prisoner*. Trans. Carol Clark. 374.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.* 375.

<sup>113</sup> This idea is indirectly inspired by Carol Mavor's writing on flight in *Reading Boyishly*.

<sup>114</sup> Proust refers to it as 'the Fortuny *leitmotiv*' in a letter to Maria de Madrazo on posted 18 February 1916, published in 'Huit lettres inédites à Maria de Madrazo'. The 'Fortuny *leitmotiv*' was discussed in 'Pleated Time'.

<sup>115</sup> Romanelli's phrase. 'Palazzo Fortuny : The Infinite Necromancer's Space-Machine'. 22.

this part of ‘Phantasmagoric Machines’ is divided along the two themes of repetition and inversion. These two themes are central to the medium of photography, as it ‘reproduces to infinity’ (as Barthes said),<sup>116</sup> and negatives are turned to positives. (A third distinctive aspect of photography, indexicality, will be investigated in ‘*Tessuti*’.) Most of Fortuny’s photographs were used as reference sources for their replication in other media. He took several still lifes, nudes, and portraits to later paint.<sup>117</sup> He photographed costumed figures, landscapes, and clouds for his Wagnerian and Shakespearian stage designs, etchings, watercolours, and drawings. Then these images were reverted back into the medium of photography when he and Henriette photographed and catalogued most of his work towards the end of his life.

As we have seen in ‘Pleated Time’, Fortuny used the replicative medium of photography to aid the re-creation of his historically inspired garments as he studied the thousands of photographic reproductions that he collected and stored in his library. And, also as examined in ‘Pleated Time’, Proust described Fortuny gowns for his novel by using photographic reproductions of the works of Carpaccio.<sup>118</sup> Though friends of Proust offered to lend him their actual Fortuny cloaks, he declined, preferring to rely on reproductions of the works that inspired the gowns.<sup>119</sup> From within the confines of his room, Proust studied photographs of friends, as well as these historical or travel images, to replicate them in *À la recherche*.<sup>120</sup>

Fortuny also studied images from the history of art by using slides. Similar to Reynaldo Hahn’s account of Fortuny showing him slides of Michelangelo’s Sistine Chapel frescos, Italian journalist, writer, and art critic Ugo Ojetti (1871-1946) says that ‘in an attic, beneath the eaves, by means of a projector he [Fortuny] conjured up at dead of night the gigantic head of one of Michelangelo’s Sibyls or a storm-tossed landscape by Leonardo.’<sup>121</sup> It is unclear whether Ojetti is actually referring to the top floor attic or the darkroom, which did have a lower ceiling as it was built on a half-floor.<sup>122</sup> It is perhaps

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<sup>116</sup> Barthes. *Camera Lucida*. 4.

<sup>117</sup> Several of the Fortuny’s nude photographs are reproduced in the small heavily illustrated book: Flaminio Gualdoni. *Mariano Fortuny*. (Venice: Skira) 2010.

<sup>118</sup> ‘Pleated Time’. 118-119.

<sup>119</sup> Madame Straus and Maria de Madrazo specifically offered to lend him their Fortuny coats. Collier. *Proust and Venice*. 166 footnote 11.

<sup>120</sup> ‘Secret Spaces’. 86-87.

<sup>121</sup> Ugo Ojetti. *Cose viste*. (Milan) 1925. 138. quoted in de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 27. On Hahn’s account see: ‘Secret Spaces’. 90.

<sup>122</sup> de Osma believes it was Ojetti is describing the top floor. *Ibid*.

more likely that Fortuny projected the images in his darkroom, as it was already fitted for complete darkness. Currently, his Michelangelo slides and old projectors are in the darkroom, suggesting that is where they might have been kept when Fortuny inhabited the palazzo. Another contributing reason to conclude Fortuny studied these projected images in the darkroom is that it was there that he used the same slides in his photographic enlarger to print the historic paintings on photographic paper. With his custom engineered enlarger, made by reversing the function of a large format camera, Fortuny was able to project and print highly magnified portions of the master works he studied. The following section examines how this device worked.

### **Inside Out**

In his darkroom, Fortuny made the same inversion that Barthes did in titling his slim volume on photography *La chambre claire* [*Camera Lucida*] instead of *La Chambre Noire* [*Camera Obscura*]. Fortuny's darkroom [*camera obscura*] could be flooded with natural light, creating a *camera lucida*. Instead of permanently blacking out the windows inside his darkroom, Fortuny actually used them in the printing process by attaching the enlarger to the window as a light source. (Fig. 70) Though this seems to be a fairly unique idea, it was not completely unprecedented at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and it would not have been an unusual setup for those without access to electricity. There were instructions for making a 'daylight enlarger' in a 1909 manual, J.B. Schriever's *Complete Self-Instructing Library of Practical Photography*.<sup>123</sup> (Fig. 71) There is, however, no evidence confirming or denying that Fortuny had seen such instructions and this particular handbook is not in his library.

Fortuny created his photographic enlarger from an old large format camera in lieu of using a condenser. And instead of having the enlarger mounted to the wall to shine down onto light-sensitive paper, he had his custom-made enlarger mounted on a wheeled cart to project horizontally onto the wall, where he would attach light-sensitive paper. The wheels allowed him to move closer and farther from the wall, making the prints smaller or larger (respectively). He attached the bellows of the camera to the window itself, instead of using an electric light bulb commonly used to project the negative onto

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<sup>123</sup> J.B. Schriever chapter XXIX 'Daylight Enlarging With the View or Hand Camera'. *Complete Self-Instructing Library of Practical Photography*. Vol. V, Part II. American School of Art and Photography, 1909. 216.

photographic paper.<sup>124</sup> By adding wheels to both the enlarger that would carry the negative and to the vertical surface onto which sensitized paper would be attached, Fortuny increased the size capacity of his prints even more than allowed by Schriever's guide. This experimental space is like Proust's dark bedroom, where he sat in the shadows enlarging his own memories in order to print the text of his novel.<sup>125</sup> By significantly elongating the bellows of his camera-turned-enlarger, Fortuny further extended the mechanism to include the entire room. His darkroom was not just a room in which to print, but the room itself became an active part of the printing process.

This is similar to the way in which contemporary Cuban-born photographer Abelardo Morell (b. 1948) uses light from a window in a dark room to make photographic prints in his *Camera Obscura* series.<sup>126</sup> Fortuny's daylight enlarger brought the Venetian light in from the outside to be focused, shone through a negative, and printed onto sensitized paper. Morell, creating a *camera obscura* in its most essential form, put a pinhole in a window shade in rooms facing the Grand Canal to let the images from outside shine through onto the interior walls. (Plates 36-38) A *camera obscura* (literally a 'dark room') is used to capture images when light travels through an aperture, in this case a pinhole in a window shade, and upon passing through the opening, the rays are inverted – in the same way that both the human eye and film cameras apprehend images. Morell has made these Venetian rooms into life-sized cameras. They are inside out, upside down rooms. In later works in his *Camera Obscura* series, Morell uses mirrors to re-invert the images from outside to be right-side-up on the interior walls. (Plate 39).

Though we see them as stilled images because Morell has photographed the interior walls, if one were inside the room itself the images would be moving, not unlike Proust's narrator's bedroom that was phantasmagorically distorted by the projected moving images of the magic lantern.<sup>127</sup> As mentioned in 'Secret Spaces', Proust's own bedroom was a space transformed through his théâtrephone, albeit aurally instead of

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<sup>124</sup> Fortuny did eventually fit his camera-enlarger with an electric bulb. Claudio Franzini. Interviewed by author. 22 June 2011.

<sup>125</sup> Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 195-197.

<sup>126</sup> Morell started his *camera obscura* experiments in 1991 and has continued to develop them, playing with colourations, reversing the images to an upright position, and has more recently began making *camera obscuras* out of tents.

<[http://www.abelardomorell.net/photography/cameraobsc\\_25/cameraobsc\\_25.html](http://www.abelardomorell.net/photography/cameraobsc_25/cameraobsc_25.html)>

<sup>127</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. I, *Swann's Way*. 9-12.

visually. Like Morell's *Camera Obscura* series, Proust's théâtrophone brought the outside in. The next part of this chapter, 'Theatre Machines', begins with the inside out spaces of domestic performances in Proust's bedroom, Fortuny's studio, and the home of a wealthy Parisian Countess.

### **PART III Theatre Machines**

#### **Interior Folded Theatres**

In 1901, Fortuny began experimenting with concave surfaces for his theatrical lighting system. This led to the creation of large quarter-sphere domes, also called cycloramas. In 1904 he patented a collapsible version of his dome that was modified in 1905 and installed in 1906 at the home of the Comtesse de Béarn at 22 Avenue Bosquet, Paris who was remodelling her auditorium.<sup>128</sup> Fortuny's folding domes were created by wrapping fabric together on both sides of a wire-framed quarter-sphere, held together by the force of suction from an attached vacuum.<sup>129</sup> (Figs. 32, 72, 73) The collapsible cyclorama looks similar to the folding caged crinolines women wore as late as the 19<sup>th</sup> century – a highly structured silhouette that is completely antithetical to Fortuny's clingy gowns. (Fig. 74) The cloth-covered wire frame used to shape women's bodies resembles, on a human scale, Fortuny's foldable theatre.

In addition to the cupola that was five metres in diameter, an early version of his lighting system, patented in 1901 (with modifications in 1907), was also installed in this Parisian home theatre.<sup>130</sup> In his theatre lighting notebook, Fortuny says that the fixture was 'inaugurated with great solemnity before an audience of elites on 29 March, 1906.'<sup>131</sup> The performance that evening was of a ballet set to the music of Charles-Marie Widor.<sup>132</sup> Critics in attendance were pleasantly astonished at the visual spectacle of the sky he was

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<sup>128</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 77, 216. Tadié provides the address. *Marcel Proust*. 453.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.* 68. The word 'inflatable' is often used to describe these iterations of Fortuny's collapsible domes. This is a more literal translation from his French patent that relates to the use of air pressure in the design. However, these domes were not 'inflatable' in the sense that we would use the term today in English.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.* 77; Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 12; Carnegy. *Wagner and the Art of the Theatre*. 192.

<sup>131</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 12. My translation.

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*; Carnegy. *Wagner and the Art of the Theatre*. 192; de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 77.



able to conjure.<sup>133</sup> The summer prior to the installation of Fortuny's cupola, Proust attended a concert given by Reynaldo Hahn in this same auditorium on 8 July 1905.<sup>134</sup> Hahn was well acquainted with Comtesse de Béarn and spent time with her and her cohort aboard her yacht in Venice.<sup>135</sup>

Like Béarn, Proust also turned his home into an inside out space of interior musical performance. Though he grew to detest the modern invention of the telephone,<sup>136</sup> Proust did enjoy when that same technology was utilized for the invention of the théâtrophone.<sup>137</sup> For a monthly fee, subscribers could use a telephone line from within their homes to listen to musical performances from a variety of different theatres.<sup>138</sup> This is how Proust heard Act III of Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* on 20 February 1911 without having to go to the theatre.<sup>139</sup> This invention, like Fortuny's collapsible cyclorama, facilitated the transformation of interior domestic space into spaces of performance. After removing the telephone lines (and consequently the théâtrophone) from his home at 102 Boulevard Haussmann in 1914, Proust hosted small chamber music groups in his home – some reportedly even in his bedroom.<sup>140</sup> Like the salon concerts of the *fin-de-siecle* often described in Proust's novel, these private performances were characteristically bourgeois.

Fortuny's completely collapsible cyclorama and lighting system was, in addition to being used in Comtesse de Béarn's private theatre, also installed at the nearby Théâtre de l'Avenue Bosquet a few months later, at the Kroll Theatre in Berlin (amongst several other German theatres) in 1907 after he was partnered with the German electrical firm

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<sup>133</sup> de Osmá. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 77-78; Carnegy. *Wagner and the Art of the Theatre*. 192.

<sup>134</sup> Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 453.

<sup>135</sup> Hahn. Part II, 'Rome, Venise, Londres, Bucarest, Berlin'. *Notes: Journal d'un musicien*.

<sup>136</sup> Sara Danius. *The Senses of Modernism. Technology, Perception, and Aesthetics*. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press) 2002. 11-17. I am grateful to Caroline Evans for pointing me to Danius' work on modernism. Danius argues that Proust's novel chronicles how modern technology (telephones, photography, automobiles, phonographs) isolates the senses.

<sup>137</sup> Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 178-179.

<sup>138</sup> Frederic M. Delano. 'How the Parisian Enjoys Opera at Home: Subscribers Enjoy a Unique Service From a Central Switchboard By Means of an Elaborate System of Amplification'. *Scientific American*. September 1925. 174; Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 179.

<sup>139</sup> Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 553.

<sup>140</sup> Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 178-180. Fuss explains why she thinks the alleged bedroom chamber concerts more likely took place in the drawing room. 180.

AEG, and at La Scala in Milan in 1922.<sup>141</sup> This later version at La Scala was designed to unfold electrically.<sup>142</sup> Fortuny's folded dome would eventually be used in the public theatre initiative sponsored by the Fascist Ministry of Culture during *il ventennio*. These 'carri di tespi' [theatre carts] were intended to bring cultural performances to public spaces, enhancing overall accessibility.<sup>143</sup> In an inversion of the private performative space of Comtesse de Béarn's auditorium, Fortuny's *Carro di Tespi* was installed outdoors in a Roman piazza in 1929.<sup>144</sup> A large outdoor marquee covered Fortuny's folding dome and lighting system fitted to a stage. To describe the political dynamic of this public theatre initiative, de Osma quotes from an essay, 'For a Theatre of Tomorrow', included in a history of Italian theatre written in 1936: 'a theatre for the bourgeoisie would be supplanted by a theatre for the masses.'<sup>145</sup> The interiority of the private spaces of performance were being turned inside out at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: Proust's bedroom theatrics (the théâtrophone, the private chamber concerts, his narrator's magic lantern), the concerts his narrator attended at the Verdurin's and those actual Parisian salon concerts on which Proust based these, Fortuny's collapsible cyclorama for Comtesse de Béarn and his theatre models. The democratisation of theatre – theatre for the masses – was an agenda Fortuny would embrace, albeit more so through Wagner's Hellenistic revivalism than through the Italian Fascist Ministry of Culture.

Fortuny's outdoor cyclorama is not unlike another photographic project by contemporary photographer Abelardo Morell. After his *Camera Obscura* series, Morell continued making images that bewilderingly merge inside and outside / private and public spaces by using his 'tent camera'.<sup>146</sup> In the 2010 photo of Morell's tent camera set up in Florence, his temporary fabric dome repeats the form of Filippo Brunelleschi's famous *duomo* of Santa Maria del Fiore that dominates the piazza.<sup>147</sup> (Fig. 75) Where

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<sup>141</sup> Carnegy notes that it was at the Kroll Theatre 'where it was seen by [Max] Reinhardt and copied by him for his Deutsches Theater'. *Wagner and the Art of Theatre*. 192; Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 15; Barón-Nusbaum's 'Forgotten Wizard'. 89; de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 78.

<sup>142</sup> de Omsa. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 166.

<sup>143</sup> For the political implications of Fortuny's collaboration see Introduction 43-44.

<sup>144</sup> Fortuny has two archive albums of his work for the *Carro di Tespi* project at Museo Fortuny. de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 167-169.

<sup>145</sup> Corrado Pavolcini. 'Per un teatro di domani'. *Storia del teatro italiano*. Ed. Silvio D'Amico. (Milan) 1936. 366. quoted in de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 169.

<sup>146</sup> Abelardo Morell. 'Location'. <[http://www.abelardomorell.net/on\\_location.html](http://www.abelardomorell.net/on_location.html)>

<sup>147</sup> The foundation stone of the cathedral was laid in 1296, it was dedicated in 1412, and consecrated in 1436. My information regarding Brunelleschi's dome is from a visit to the

Brunelleschi's dome is topped with a lantern covering its oculus, Morell's is topped with a mirrored lens to refract the light from outside into the tent, making it a *camera obscura*. (Fig. 76) The outside is projected inside, just as in the prints Morell creates with his pinhole window shade. Fortuny's collapsible dome is almost the inverse of Brunelleschi's: where the *duomo* of Santa Maria del Fiore is comprised of two structural ogival shells with empty space between them (where visitors can walk through), Fortuny's wire-framed dome is encased on both sides by fabric.

Brunelleschi, for his competition-winning design (1418), looked to the ancient dome of the Pantheon in Rome.<sup>148</sup> The giant oculus in the centre of the Pantheon lets in beams of light from outside, and the resulting interior shadows move as time passes. As contemporary artists Conrad Shawcross (British, b.1977) and Leo Villareal (American, b.1967) remarked in a conversation related to the exhibition *Light Show* (2013), this oculus makes the Pantheon a sort of clock and camera.<sup>149</sup> In the same way that a camera opens its shutter (its aperture) for a measure of time, holding and capturing the light inside of the camera body as it exposes the film negative, light shines through the Pantheon's oculus, moving its rays along the interior walls like an inverted sun dial. Morell uses his pinhole window shade and a mirror to turn this same historic camera-clock building right side up inside an adjacent hotel room. (Plate 39)

In another inversion of space, in 1908 Fortuny made a stage lighting model inside of the studio in his palazzo for testing sets and lighting designs on a small scale.<sup>150</sup> (Figs. 33, 34) This structure resembles the peep show box of a travelling magician, children's stage toys, or an electrified version of Samuel van Hoogstraten's *Peepshow* at the National Gallery in London where visitors lean in close to peer into the miniature scene

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museum of Santa Maria del Fiore and observations from climbing the structure, in July 2004 and March 2013.

<sup>148</sup> Brunelleschi won the design competition for the dome in 1420. See: 'Dome'. Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore. < <http://www.museumflorence.com/monuments/2-dome> >

<sup>149</sup> 'Art & Light' artists' talk on 30 January 2013 at The Southbank Centre, London in conjunction with the opening of *Light Show* at the Hayward Gallery, London (30 January-6 May 2013). Shawcross remarked that there is a sense of time in the Pantheon, 'You can sense time through its shadows,' to which Villareal added, 'The Pantheon is a *camera obscura*.'

<sup>150</sup> Claudio Franzini. Interviewed by author. 22 June 2011. See also: de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 64-65.

of a Dutch home.<sup>151</sup> (Figs. 77, 78) To test the positions of light and shadows, Fortuny would peer into the doll-sized theatre, like Proust's narrator peeping in and seeing certain characters in a different light. Standing on the outside looking in, Proust's narrator watches scenes of sexual inversion: at Montjouvain he sees Mlle Vinteuil's lesbian tryst; at a brothel he sees Charlus chained to a bed being whipped by a boy; and in a tailor's shop he sees (and more predominantly hears) Charlus and Jupien together like a bee on an orchid, to use Proust's metaphor.<sup>152</sup> From these thresholds, the voyeuristic narrator reveals the homosexual desires of these characters to the reader – projecting out what was seen in these enclosed spaces.

Fortuny's first floor studio also holds small-scale theatre models for two unrealized projects: the *Teatro della Feste* (1912) and the Bayreuth Theatre (1903). As previously mentioned, the *Teatro della Feste* was conceived as an idealized neo-classical theatre for the revival of the culture of Ancient Greek theatre festivals.<sup>153</sup> (Figs. 11, 12, 13) Fortuny was perhaps glad the theatre was never built, as in later reflections on the design he says this style had become prevalent for cinemas 'with abundant means and those with especially bad taste' in America and Paris.<sup>154</sup> Along with these comments in his Theatre Lighting notebook, Fortuny also complained of the pretentious, exaggerated, gaudy architecture and ornamentation of modern theatres.<sup>155</sup> He contrasts this with the theatres of Ancient Greece and Rome where the audience was given ample space.<sup>156</sup> Then Fortuny upholds Wagner's Bayreuth Theatre as a 'new Parthenon'.<sup>157</sup> In contrast to ostentatious theatres where the architecture seemed to detract from the performed works on stage, the Bayreuth Theatre is an austere building where the structure was designed to be in service of the performances. The Bayreuth Theatre was Wagner's attempt at making an 'invisible' theatre.

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<sup>151</sup> Samuel van Hoogstraten. *A Peepshow with Views of the Interior of a Dutch House*. c. 1655-60. National Gallery, London. I am grateful to Carol Mavor who mentioned this piece as a point of comparison.

<sup>152</sup> Fuss. *The Sense of an Interior*. 172.

<sup>153</sup> Introduction. 43.

<sup>154</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 31. My translation. Fortuny cites the Rex Theatre in Paris as an example.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.* 6.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

## Creating Wagner's Invisible Theatre

Before we examine the elements of Fortuny's model of the Bayreuth Theatre and the illusions its lighting system achieves, let us turn to the origins of Fortuny's fascination with this theatre conceived by Richard Wagner, and investigate the ways in which the two artists overlap. To conclude this section, the mechanics behind the creation of phantasmagoric illusion in Wagnerian opera, distilled to three main aspects by Theodor Adorno, will be examined in light of how Fortuny's own inventions aided their accomplishment.

The Bayreuth Theatre (also known as the *Festspielhaus*, meaning 'Festival House') in Germany was built between 1872-76 and designed to be a theatre that perfectly conformed to Wagner's goal of presenting dramatic works as all-encompassing illusions. (Fig. 79) The primary practical difference in his design and that of existing theatres was the complete concealment of the orchestra. In his speech at the laying of the foundation stone of the Bayreuth Theatre in 1872, Wagner said:

To explain the plan of the festival theatre now being built in Bayreuth, I believe that I cannot do better than begin with the need I felt first, namely, that of rendering invisible the technical hearth of the music: the orchestra. For this one constraint led step by step to the total redesigning of the auditorium of our neo-European theatre.<sup>158</sup>

This prescribed concealment of the musicians will be explored later in this chapter as it relates to Wagner's execution of phantasmagoric illusion, as well as the Marxist conception of phantasmagoria as a concealment of labour, as argued by Adorno.<sup>159</sup>

In his this same speech, Wagner thanked his friends and patrons and reiterated that his goal was to present art that is not constrained by the materiality of the theatre itself:

[...] my only wish is to present this work in a pure and undistorted way to those men and women who have taken a serious interest in my art in spite of the fact that it has hitherto been presented to them in a way that is still impure and distorted – [...]<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Richard Wagner. Speech at the laying of the foundation stone at the Bayreuth Theatre. 22 May 1872. Accessed via Bayreuth Festspielhaus website: <[http://www.bayreuther-festspiele.de/documents/\\_the\\_bayreuth\\_festival\\_theatre\\_341.html](http://www.bayreuther-festspiele.de/documents/_the_bayreuth_festival_theatre_341.html)>

<sup>159</sup> Adorno. *In Search of Wagner*.

<sup>160</sup> Wagner. Speech. 22 May 1872.

Wagner felt that the new theatre, purpose built to his specifications, might finally provide the technical means to produce his dramatic works as seamless illusions.<sup>161</sup> The building is completely wooden and hollow, like a musical instrument itself.<sup>162</sup> Even today there is no heating or cooling system, no carpet on the floors, no cushions in the seats – nothing to interfere with the acoustics. There is a trompe l’oeil sunshield painted onto the ceiling to mimic those made of canvas in the theatres of Ancient Greece. (Plate 40) Fortuny himself included a sunshield on his own neo-classical theatre, the *Teatro delle Feste*. (Figs. 11, 12, 13)

Designed to be the democratic ideal theatre experience, all of the seats were positioned to have good sight lines, and it was intentioned that the tickets would be free. Wagner envisioned the audience to be able to come out to small rural town of Bayreuth and stay for days to allow themselves to be fully immersed in the experience, especially for the four evenings of his Ring cycle. The roads of Bayreuth were literally built around the theatre, which sits atop a hill.

Wagner would only live two years past the opening of the *Festspielhaus*, as he died in 1883 in Venice, six years before Fortuny would move to the same island as an eighteen year-old. Fortuny would hear of Wagner in Paris, most notably from Spanish painter Rogelio Egusquiza, his friend and mentor.<sup>163</sup> He remembers how Egusquiza came back from his visit to Bayreuth ‘completely transformed and fascinated’: the way he heard music had changed, he spoke of myths and heroes and fantasies; and that as a teenager (twenty-six years younger than Egusquiza) he, too, became intrigued.<sup>164</sup>

In a catalogue essay for the 2013 exhibition at Museo Fortuny titled *Fortuny e Wagner*, Claudio Franzini closely examines Egusquiza’s role in Fortuny’s acquired Wagnerism, citing a little known article written by the former for the *Bayreuther Blätter*, a publication intended for the opera festival audience.<sup>165</sup> Published in 1885, Egusquiza’s essay, ‘Über die Beleuchtung der Bühne’ (‘On Stage Lighting’), calls attention to the

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<sup>161</sup> ‘May it [the Bayreuth Theatre] now bear the scaffolding that we need for that illusion through which you are to look into life’s truest mirror.’ Wagner. Speech. 22 May 1872. I am enormously indebted to the Wagner World Wide conference organisers and sponsors for giving the speakers the unique opportunity to tour the *Festspielhaus*, to even stand in the orchestra pit and on the stage.

<sup>162</sup> I am thankful to our guide at the *Festspielhaus* for this interpretation.

<sup>163</sup> Franzini. ‘Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny’. 75-76.

<sup>164</sup> Fortuny. *Descriptions et illustrations*. Unpublished notes at Museo Fortuny. 2; quoted in *Ibid.* 75. My translation.

<sup>165</sup> Franzini. ‘Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny’. 76.

shortcomings of gas lighting in the theatre, especially as regards accomplishing Wagnerian atmospheric effects and colour symbolism. Just as Wagner was not content with the interfering materiality of the technical aspects of performance, as it prohibited the presentation of seamless illusion, so Egusquiza points to the problematic nature of the unnatural stage lighting.<sup>166</sup> As Franzini explains:

Egusquiza poses two questions: how can you keep antiquated lighting with current unconventional musical direction? The second, more technical and artistic, is already an initial test of reform, a first step toward the total elimination of limelight: 'In what real situation does light originate from the ground?'<sup>167</sup>

These criticisms are what Fortuny will eventually seek to correct through his own stage lighting designs. Though there is no proof that Fortuny had read this article, it presently reads, as Franzini puts it, like a 'prophecy of the artistic evolution of Mariano.'<sup>168</sup>

Fortuny did finally see the theatre productions in Bayreuth in 1891 and returned again in 1892. He was introduced to Wagner's widow, Cosima, and other family members by Egusquiza, who was there assisting on a production of *Parsifal*.<sup>169</sup> In the photographic archives housed at Museo Fortuny, there is a gelatine plate print that Fortuny took of the exterior of the Bayreuth Theatre, with two tiny figures in the distance who may well be his sister and mother, who had accompanied him.<sup>170</sup> (Fig. 80) Fortuny was captivated and immediately immersed himself in the study of the German composer's music-dramas.

In his personal library, Fortuny had several books on Wagner including his published letters and libretti, as well as works by Arthur Schopenhauer – the German philosopher who so greatly influenced Wagner (and Nietzsche). The library contains a copy of *Die Bühnenproben zu den Bayreuther Festspielen des Jahres 1876* (*The Stage Rehearsals for the Bayreuth Festival of 1876*), whose ragged corners seem to indicate its worn appearance is due to use rather than age.<sup>171</sup> This book of Wagner's own pedantic

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<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.* 76.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.* My translation.

<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>170</sup> I am very grateful to Cristina Da Roit for finding this elusive photograph for me and for her suggestion of the identity of the figures in the lower left corner.

<sup>171</sup> Catalogued in the library of Museo Fortuny [A12.26]. Originally published in German in instalments of the *Bayreuther Blätter* between 1881 and 1896. Fortuny's edition was published in 1896 in Leipzig by Verlag von Siegismund and Volkening. The book has since been translated into English by Robert L. Jacobs and published as *Wagner*

stage instructions for the *Ring* cycle, assembled by Heinrich Porges as an assigned observer and recorder, is a scene-by-scene guide to the score which Fortuny undoubtedly studied for costume designing as well as his own paintings, engravings, sketches, and watercolours of Wagner's scenes. He produced many two-dimensional works before the creation of his Bayreuth model in 1903. For example, in 1896 Fortuny painted *The Flower Maidens* from Wagner's *Parsifal*, an opera from which he would paint several scenes.<sup>172</sup> However, it was the Rhine-maidens – the aqueous counterparts to *Parsifal*'s flower maidens – who feature in the opening scene of *Das Rheingold* that first inspired Fortuny's designs for his theatre dome.<sup>173</sup> It was the song of these water-nymphs, their lament, that Wagner ostensibly played the night before he died in Fortuny's watery city.<sup>174</sup>

In a few different handwritten and typed notes, Fortuny described his initial impressions of the visual aspects of seeing *Das Rheingold* at Bayreuth. The opera begins with a scene of the Rhine-maidens who (as the opera's title suggests) live at the bottom of the Rhine river that runs through Germany, and are tasked with guarding the enchanted gold hidden there. In an undated, handwritten note titled *Le fond du Rhin (The Bottom of the Rhine)*, Fortuny describes the blue and green hues of the Rhine in the performances he saw, and how the lighting for the stage cast shadows over it and distorted the effect.<sup>175</sup> In another reflection, he recalls: 'I still remember a few details of the scene of *Das Rheingold* that displeased my youthful fantasy.'<sup>176</sup> Though the theatre had made the switch from gas to electric light, an advancement made between the time Egusquiza aired his complaint in 1885 in the *Bayreuther Blätter* and when Fortuny attended performances in 1891/92, there was not much difference in the way light was utilized for the stage. Despite attempts made by theatre reformer Adolphe Appia to further explore the possibilities of electric light in the Bayreuth Theatre,<sup>177</sup> as Fortuny remarked:

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*Rehearsing the 'Ring': An Eye-Witness Account of the Stage Rehearsal of the First Bayreuth Festival.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 1983.

<sup>172</sup> See: Conclusion 6, 8.

<sup>173</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 8. Franzini. 'Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny'. 77. *Das Rheingold* is the first opera of the *Ring* cycle.

<sup>174</sup> Robert Gutman. *Richard Wagner: the man, his mind and his music*. (Harmondsworth: Penguin) 1971. 634.

<sup>175</sup> Fortuny. *Le fond du Rhin*.

<sup>176</sup> Fortuny. *Descriptions et illustrations, no 03*. Museo Fortuny. 13ff. Quoted in Franzini. 'Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny'. 77. My translation.

<sup>177</sup> Carnegie. *Wagner and the Art of Theatre*. 177-183.



they restricted themselves, as far as positioning was concerned, to doing electric lighting schemes in the same way as gas ones, which meant that electricity, which should have completely revolutionized the art of stage décor, was left in virtually the same state as before.<sup>178</sup>

Seeing these shortcomings and realising the even broader possibilities afforded by electricity, Fortuny began to experiment with techniques of indirect lighting when he returned to Venice.<sup>179</sup> It was here that he began making small-scale cycloramas.<sup>180</sup> Between 1902 and 1907, Fortuny would keep a workshop in Paris on Rue St. Charles for his lighting experiments.<sup>181</sup> He revealed an early version of his collapsible cyclorama to friends in this Parisian studio in 1902.<sup>182</sup> In 1903, Fortuny partnered with Appia (who had his own Wagnerian conversion at Bayreuth in 1882) to design performances of selected scenes in Comtesse de Béarn's private theatre.<sup>183</sup> These two designers collaborated on other small, unrealized projects, and Fortuny's library contains a copy of Appia's *Die Musik und die Inszenierung* [*Music and Staging*] (1899), but they would not work together for long. Though both were dedicated to the medium of electricity for stage design, Appia's aesthetic was radically minimalistic, whilst Fortuny sought to create the Romantic naturalism prescribed in Wagner's stage directions.

Fortuny's new electric system and the atmospheric lighting and colouring effects it produced were a profound change from static set design. Fortuny felt his designs would better express the metaphysically symbolic aspects of Wagner's work. In his notebook on theatre lighting, Fortuny reflected on the old processes of stage décor; how at one time 'everything was painted' and that while some of these sets were masterpieces, most were mediocre.<sup>184</sup> He expressed his distaste for the current use of 'plastic' relief decoration. But Fortuny also mentioned, with less disapproval, the magic lanterns that were at one time popular for projections in tents.<sup>185</sup> His own revolutionary electric lighting system would incorporate lamps and lanterns that functioned similarly to these magic lanterns.

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<sup>178</sup> Fortuny. *Éclairage Scénique*. 1-2. Quoted in de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 65.

<sup>179</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 5.

<sup>180</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 74.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.* 74-79.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.* 75.

<sup>183</sup> Carnegy. *Wagner and the Art of Theatre*. 177, 183; Baron-Nusbaum. 'Forgotten Wizard'. 86-87; de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 77.

<sup>184</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 24. My translation.

<sup>185</sup> *Ibid.* 24.

In this same theatre lighting notebook, Fortuny outlined his own project, which proposed new uses for lighting through a combination of the old techniques and electric invention:

- My research focuses on the following:
- fully realize the sky by using light on a white background
  - use the projection, only for the distant lines of mountains all made on the horizon, etc.
  - paint for the rest of the landscape, etc.
  - and relief (plastic) only for what is passable, and sparingly.<sup>186</sup>

The concept of indirect lighting, which Fortuny championed in his decorative lamps, is the basis for Fortuny's system of theatre lighting that he first patented in 1901 and modified in 1907 with the help of his electrical technician Cipriano Giachetti.<sup>187</sup> Fortuny studied the way in which light is reflected and absorbed into the eye.<sup>188</sup> The artist, in seeking to learn more of photometry, read about the conformation of the human eye and the role of the iris in a scientific journal.<sup>189</sup> In his theatre lighting notebook, Fortuny recounted seeing a stage set with 'a ridiculous number of lamps' shone directly onto a fountain, which blinded the audience.<sup>190</sup> He realized that the problem was that the pupil of the eye shrank because of the direct brilliance of the glare, but that through indirect lighting the rays of light would be properly angled.<sup>191</sup>

The concave surface of his cupola was optimal for indirect lighting. Fortuny's cupola/dome/cyclorama/quarter-sphere, would be fitted behind the stage. (Figs. 2, 81, 82, 83) In addition to his model for the Bayreuth Theatre (as previously mentioned), Fortuny utilized variations of the cupola.<sup>192</sup> The concave surface, which was originally conceived as the support for the watery opening scene of *Das Rheingold*, was also an ideal surface for portraying what Fortuny called the 'infinite depth of the sky'.<sup>193</sup> (Plate 41) He described the effect:

For the first time in the history of set design, we saw a bright blue sky, covering the whole scene, width and height, without betraying any actual point in the distance

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<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.* My translation.

<sup>187</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 216. I am grateful to Claudio Franzini for providing the name 'Giachetti'. Interviewed by author. 30 August 2013.

<sup>188</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 1.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.* 1.

<sup>190</sup> *Ibid.* 5. My translation.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.* 5.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.* 9.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.* 1. My translation.

from the surface- the same for the sea, [...], the illusion was absolutely extraordinary.<sup>194</sup>

The delight in seeing this illusion was not just felt by its creator, but also by the electrician who restored the model in 2012, who admitted in his notes:

When the installation was finished, I performed connection tests for all the equipment and appliances and at the first truly simultaneous ignition of the entire model, the joy in seeing this reborn splendour of light was so great and so justifies all the resources used.<sup>195</sup>

Such a response to Fortuny's conjuring illumination recalls the Italian journalist who was enchanted by seeing 'the sky, a real sky' while inside Palazzo Orfei.<sup>196</sup>

Another leading contemporary theatre designer, Gordon Craig (English, 1872-1966) had attempted to fashion a theatrical sky from cloth.<sup>197</sup> Craig fabricated a skycloth made of blue satin stitched together, which his patron, Count Harry Kessler, found far inferior to Fortuny's 'infinite sky' which he witnessed at Comtesse de Béarn's private theatre in Paris.<sup>198</sup> Where Craig's sky was made of fabric, Fortuny's was created by the blending of coloured light on the fabric-covered rounded surface of his dome.

Apart from being a curious spectacle, the naturalistic portrayal of the sky in all its depth was not the only purpose of Fortuny's invention. The dimensionality of the sky was intended to give viewers a sense of distance – a visually perceived spatial depth to match the auditory distance generated in Wagner's soundscapes. Echoing the line from *Parsifal* that 'time changes here to space',<sup>199</sup> in Wagnerian opera, the time-based medium of

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<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.* 14. My translation.

<sup>195</sup> Francesco Rado. 'Intervento di recupero del modello'. *Restauro del modello di Bayreuth*. Venice. 21 November 2012. My translation.

<sup>196</sup> Corrado Tumiatì. 'Il mio vicino mago'. Quoted in de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 24-25.

<sup>197</sup> The prominent Austrian playwright and librettist Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929) who worked with Max Rheinhardt 'considered the three leading stage-designers in Europe to be Appia, Fortuny, and Craig [...].' 6 Oct. 1903 and 22 Oct 1903. Hugo von Hofmannsthal and Harry Graf Kessler, *Briefwechsel 1898-1929*. Ed. Hilde Burger (Frankfurt: Insel-Verlag) 1968. 55, 57. Quoted in 'Introduction'. *The Correspondence of Edward Gordon Craig and Count Harry Kessler*. Ed. L.M Newman. (London: W.S. Maney & Son Ltd. For Modern Humanities Research Association and the Institute of Germanic Studies University of London) 1995. 6.

<sup>198</sup> 24 November 1904. Craig to Kessler. #27 footnote 21. *The Correspondence of Edward Gordon Craig and Count Harry Kessler*. 27; 8 July 1905. Kessler to Craig. #65 footnote 54. *Ibid.* 48.

<sup>199</sup> *Parisfal*. Act I, scene I, Gurnemanz. 'Du siehst, mein Sohn, / zum Raum wird hier die Zeit'.

music occupies spatial as well as aural distance, which was visually expressed in the illusion of the depths of Fortuny's infinite sky.

Fortuny's system of lighting was also innovative for the fact that he utilized the immediacy of light to provide décor that was less temporally restricted than static stage sets. As Fortuny himself claimed:

[...] theatrical scenery will be able to transform itself in tune with music, within the latter's domain, that is to say in 'time', whereas hitherto it has only been able to develop in 'space.' This [...] is of supreme importance for the staging of the works of Richard Wagner.<sup>200</sup>

Fortuny utilized his inventions to match vision and sound, more fully embracing Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerk*. The immediacy of light allowed seamless transitions, variations, and diminutions that would visually enact the musical score. The juxtaposed pictures in Plate 41 demonstrate some of the possible colour progressions of the lighting system on the Bayreuth Theatre model, as one colour fades into another. Fortuny blended these coloured lights just as he had learned to mix paint. (This idea will be further examined in the Conclusion chapter as a way of bringing together the media in which Fortuny worked.)

Wagner himself wanted seamless visual transitions between scenes that would match the auditory transitions he had composed; however, the technology to do this was, in his time, not yet available. His stage directions from *Das Rheingold* give an example:

Greenish twilight, lighter above, more dark below.... Towards the bottom the waves dissolve into an increasingly fine mist spray... like scudding clouds over the dusk-enshrouding river bed... leading off all sides into impenetrable darkness. ...

An increasingly bright glow penetrates the floodwaters from above flaring up as it strikes a point high on the central rock and gradually becoming a blinding and brightly beaming gleam of gold; a magical golden light streams through the water at this point.<sup>201</sup>

When Wagner scripted these scenographic details, they were wholly impossible. As Appia would say of Wagner's unrealistic designs, '... so different were his intentions

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<sup>200</sup> Fortuny. *Éclairage Scénique*. 13; quoted in de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 70.

<sup>201</sup> Stewart Spencer and Barry Millington. *Wagner's Ring of the Nibelung: A Companion*. (New York: Thames and Hudson) 1993. 57, 65. Quoted in Baron-Nusbaum. 'Forgotten Wizard'. 81.

from their visual realization that all his work was disfigured – [...] one can assert, without exaggeration, that no one has yet *seen* a Wagnerian drama on the stage.<sup>202</sup>

Despite the unattainability of this seamlessness, it was of profound importance to Wagner, as he wrote in a letter, ‘I should now like to call my most delicate and profound art, the art of transition, for the whole fabric of my art is made up of such transitions: all that is abrupt and sudden is now repugnant to me; [...]’.<sup>203</sup> In 1907, Siegfried (Wagner’s son who had taken over the Bayreuth Festival) commented that lighting transitions were of great importance in their staging considerations, and that therefore they had ‘great hopes for the future of Mariano Fortuny’s new lighting invention.’<sup>204</sup> (This was six years after Siegfried had been impressed with Fortuny’s designs for *Tristan und Isolde* at La Scala, as evidenced by his mother’s laudatory letter to Toscanini.<sup>205</sup>)

By using coloured light, as opposed to the static sets of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Fortuny’s system would be able to produce the seamless transitions of ethereal spaces that Wagner had described: the watery greenish blues of the Rhine and its glowing gold; the rosy pink mists in Klingsor’s seductive garden in *Parisifal*; the sunsets in *Tristan und Isolde* that allow the lovers to rendezvous in blue/black darkness... For blending these colours, Fortuny’s Bayreuth model contained lamps for red, blue, yellow, and white light that would be mixed by the controls shown in Figs. 84a, b. To make these small-scale electrics, he ordered tiny parts from a medical supply company.<sup>206</sup> The lighting system for Fortuny’s Bayreuth Theatre model uses six times the electricity of the average daily

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<sup>202</sup> Appia. *Oeuvres complètes*. Ed. Marie L. Bablet-Hahn. 4 vols, (Switzerland Bonstetten) 1983-91. Vol II. Quoted in Carnegy. *Wagner and the Art of Theatre*. 176.

<sup>203</sup> He continues on to say: ‘My greatest masterpiece in the art of the most delicate and gradual transition is without a doubt the great scene in the second act of *Tristan und Isolde*.’ Richard Wagner to Mathilde Wesendonck. ‘Letter of 29 October 1859’. *Selected Letters of Richard Wagner*. Trans. and eds. Stewart Spencer and Barry Millington. (London) 1975. Quoted in Millington. *Richard Wagner: The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. 173.

<sup>204</sup> ‘Here in Bayreuth we place great emphasis upon stage lighting, on gentle transitions and on the avoidance of crude effects. That is why I have such great hopes for the future of Mariano Fortuny’s new lighting invention.’ Siegfried Wagner. 27 October 1907. *Hamburger Nachrichten*. Quoted in Günter Metken. ‘The Universal Artist: Fortuny’s Image of Wagner’. Programme for Bayreuther Festspiel. 1986. 67. I am grateful to Kristina Unger at the Richard Wagner Museum, Bayreuth for finding and sending me a copy of this article. Ms. Unger has also confirmed to me that there is no existing correspondence between Fortuny and any of the Wagner family in their archive. Also quoted in Franzini. ‘Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny’. 80.

<sup>205</sup> See Introduction. 40-41.

<sup>206</sup> Francesco Rado. Interviewed by author. Palazzo Fortuny. 27 August 2013.

usage of one person.<sup>207</sup> For this reason, Museo Fortuny has fitted a system of LEDs to the model to be used when it is on display.<sup>208</sup> Fortuny's own labels, written in a combination of French and Italian, remain on the model. (Fig. 85) In 1906 he also patented a dimmer,<sup>209</sup> making the visual decrescendo possible. Through these inventions Fortuny was able to do what static scenery was not – to change in time with the music.

In addition to being able to portray sunsets and sunrises using the coloured lamps and dimmer in his lighting system, with his inventions Fortuny could conjure a believably blue sky, the moon rising and setting, moving clouds, and it was likely that he even produced lightning. Fortuny designed a singular lamp solely to act as the light source for the moon. (Fig. 86) By isolating this feature, the appearance of the moon would easily be able to move across the sky, indicating a passing of time. This was a more sophisticated illusion than the rolling painted canvases used in Baroque theatre and in tricks showcased at the 1900 Paris Exhibition.<sup>210</sup> As we will see, the convincing portrayal of the passage of time – here by Fortuny's conjured rising and setting suns and moons – is crucial to the all-encompassing Wagnerian phantasmagoria.

To create his infinite sky, Fortuny, like Alexander von Humboldt and his cyanometer, specifically researched the colour blue. Fortuny found in his research that 'Blue light behaves quite differently from the red, yellow, or white lights. [...] The blue behaves in mysterious ways.'<sup>211</sup> The high absorption rate of blue light demanded a larger number of blue lamps and Fortuny found it necessary for this colour, unlike the others, to be shone directly onto the white cupola.<sup>212</sup> Figs. 87a,b and Plate 42 show the extra blue lamps Fortuny added at the front of the stage on his Bayreuth model. He also installed a long arched row of blue lamps along the top perimeter of the cupola and he embedded another track of blue lights in the base of the stage along the lower perimeter to help achieve the bright blue skies. (Fig. 83)

In 1905, Fortuny patented an arc lamp for use in his theatre system. (Fig. 88) These carbon arc lamps created a white light by generating an electric charge between

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<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>208</sup> The original lighting system, restored by Mr. Rado, is still in place and functional. Francesco kindly switched the model to its original lights for my examination of Fortuny's lighting system, and for the film I have produced of the model.

<sup>209</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 216.

<sup>210</sup> Carnegie 111, 281; 405 note 13.

<sup>211</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 22. My translation.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.* 22

two carbon rods.<sup>213</sup> The gap between the two rods, controlled by electromagnetic release, could be widened to produce erratic and volatile flashes of light, aural and visual sputtering, roaring, and buzzing – which Fortuny likely did to simulate lightning. Though there is no direct proof that they were used in this way, Wagner scripted a shock of lightning in a key moment in his *Ring* tetralogy, of which Fortuny would have been keenly aware.<sup>214</sup> Fortuny was continuously experimenting, and likely would have known or found the capabilities of the carbon arc lamp to produce this effect.

Like the blue he researched to replicate in his skies, Fortuny made a study of clouds to be able to realistically reproduce them. (Fig.83) At the Fortuny museum, in the filing cabinets that hold Fortuny's photographic archive, there is a large section of a drawer labelled 'Nuvole' ['Clouds']. He took several pictures of clouds in the sky in various formations to use as references in his own re-creation of them. Fortuny transferred these photographic images of clouds onto hinged plates that resemble very large glass plate negatives. (Figs. 89a, b) To make the clouds appear on the cupola's sky, a light would be shone onto the cloud plates at such an angle so as to cast their reflection onto the field of grey-blue sky, and the plates themselves could be moved on their hinges to move the clouds. There are several switches, marked 'Nuvole', which are dedicated to lamps in that position. (Fig. 85) This technique for the projected clouds is very similar to the old tricks of stage magicians, who used mirrors on the side or underneath the stage to throw images.<sup>215</sup> Recalling again the Italian journalist who called Fortuny a magician: he 'saw the sky, a real sky, in calm and stormy weather, extending all round a vast amphitheatre.'<sup>216</sup> The illusion of changing weather in this conjured sky not only fulfilled Wagner's stage instructions, it also added to the effect of veracity of Fortuny's phantasmagoria.

Though it was not used on the Bayreuth Theatre model, Fortuny did create another method for producing the illusion of clouds that originates from the proto-

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<sup>213</sup> I am indebted to physics teachers Dr. Daniel Smith and Alan C. Pickwick in Manchester for helping identify these lamps and explaining how they operate.

<sup>214</sup> The lightning strike is just before the appearance of the rainbow bridge at the end of *Das Rheingold*, a scene which Fortuny painted. (fig. 9)

<sup>215</sup> There are a few examples in the book in Fortuny's library, Alfred de Vaulabelle and Charles Hémarquinier. *La Science au Théâtre: étude sur les procédés scientifiques en usage dans le théâtre modern*. (Paris: Henry Paulin et Cie éditeurs) 1908. Catalogued as A10.29.

<sup>216</sup> Tumiatì. 'Il mio vicino mago'. Quoted in de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 24-25.

cinematic optical tricks used to simulate motion. (Fig. 90) This machine, developed in 1907, was a suspended apparatus made of six reflective cloud plates, each illuminated by its own lamp, which would rotate to simulate the motion of clouds across the screen.<sup>217</sup> In his writing on the device, Fortuny himself links this machine to the technology of the magic lantern.<sup>218</sup> This spinning cloud machine was installed at the Kroll Theatre in Berlin in 1907, where it produced, as Fortuny described, ‘melting images, shapes transforming into each other’.<sup>219</sup> Again Fortuny’s phantasmagorias give visual expression to Marxist metaphor. Fortuny’s description sounds (not intentionally) like Marx and Engels’ criticism of bourgeois capitalism in the first chapter of *The Communist Manifesto* (1848): ‘All that is solid melts into the air [...]’

Fortuny also created landscapes of air and light with a device similar to the magic lantern. He had a small slide lantern made for the projection of distant landscapes, using actual photographs in conjunction with the lamps installed in the Bayreuth Theatre model. (Figs. 132a, 132b) Using his own landscape photographs of the nearby Dolomiti mountains,<sup>220</sup> Fortuny could re-create the scene in miniature form; he could bring the outside in.

Fortuny conjured Wagnerian illusions in the dark with the same elements as the phantasmagorian with his magic lantern: lights, lenses, mirrors, projections, reflections. The ability to make images move fortifies their magic. The blended atmospheric effects in the model of the Bayreuth Theatre are accomplished in rich saturated of colour; its range of hue and intensity able to change as accords with the musical score in complete synchronicity. Fortuny’s lighting system realized the encompassing illusion prescribed by Wagner. These lighting transitions as well as a more detailed look at Fortuny’s Bayreuth Theatre model can be seen in the author’s short original film.<sup>221</sup>

In his book *In Search of Wagner*, Adorno argues that Wagnerian opera is phantasmagoric in three ways: the concealment of labour, spatial illusion, and temporal delusion.<sup>222</sup> And by way of conclusion, let us briefly address these three components, and how Fortuny’s lighting system enacts them.

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<sup>217</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 15.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.* My translation.

<sup>220</sup> This was suggested to me by Francesco Rado.

<sup>221</sup> Link to the film of the Fortuny’s Bayreuth Theatre model: [goo.gl/6jUzUZ](http://goo.gl/6jUzUZ)

<sup>222</sup> Adorno. *In Search of Wagner*. 70-77. Adorno does not use these exact terms.



Firstly, Adorno introduces phantasmagoria in the Marxist sense of the term, where it represents the alienated relation between consumer and product due to the concealment of the labour used to create the work; a separation from the process of its production.<sup>223</sup> The seamlessness of Wagner's operas, under the banner of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, obscures the individual components that serve the work to preserve an illusion of unity. Not only does the orchestration avoid the identification of singular instrumentation as a sign of the individual labour that makes up the collective sound, as Adorno argues, but Wagner also demanded that the entire orchestra 'be made invisible', insisting that 'sight of the technical apparatus needed to produce the sound constitutes a most tiresome distraction.'<sup>224</sup> Wagner designed the orchestra pit at the *Festspielhaus* to be deeper than most to better conceal the orchestra. He even added a hooded screen to cover the top of the pit so that the musicians' lights wouldn't distract from what was happening on stage. (Figs. 91a, b)

Wagner's perfect performance is one in which the working mechanisms behind the production are completely hidden to leave the audience with nothing of reality to behold, left to be immersed in the phantasmagoria:

If this impression is pure and perfect, then the mysterious entry of the music will prepare you for the unveiling and clear presentation of onstage images that will seem to rise up before you from an ideal world of dreams and reveal to you the whole reality of a noble art's most meaningful illusion.<sup>225</sup>

Fortuny's 1903 Bayreuth model complied with Wagner's architectural blueprint and, furthermore, by utilising projected light for stage décor instead of plastic sets, Fortuny's stage designs would have reduced the number of stagehands needed to move static props and backgrounds. Most of his machines could be remotely controlled, minimising onstage interruptions. But also echoing this principle of phantasmagoria, Fortuny himself concealed many of his working practices and, as we have seen, the secrecy surrounding him and his inventions still lingers.

The second property of Wagnerian phantasmagoria identified by Adorno is spatial manipulation. Wagnerian orchestration uses techniques of auditory diminution to create spatial illusions: 'A diminished *forte* predominates, the image of loudness from afar.'<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.* 70-75. Marx. *Capital*. Vol. I. 165.

<sup>224</sup> Wagner. Speech. 22 May 1872.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>226</sup> Adorno. *In Search of Wagner*. 75.

Sound is formed in such a way as to simulate distance. These techniques of spatial manipulation that have been written into the music are also required of the visual stage sets. In his own designs for the Bayreuth Theatre, Wagner worked with the architect to physically separate the audience from the performers, calling the gap between them the ‘mystic abyss’.<sup>227</sup> (Fig. 92) The graduated proscenium leading up to the stage give the illusion of a deeper space. Wagner himself describes how the proscenium function to create distance:

Thanks to the relation between this second proscenium and the narrower one behind it, he [the architect] was immediately able to promise the most wonderful illusion that makes the actual events onstage appear to be further away, persuading the spectator to think that the action is very remote, while allowing him to observe that action with the clarity of actual proximity.<sup>228</sup>

Aligning with Wagner’s intention, Fortuny’s cupola visualizes a space that more convincingly recedes into the ‘infinite depths of the sky’.<sup>229</sup> Fortuny’s dome enhances the phantasmagoric distortion of space in Wagnerian opera.

Finally, the third quality Adorno identifies in Wagnerian phantasmagoria is that there is a suppression of temporality. The audience sat in the dark theatre knows no other time than the one performed on stage. Wagnerian time is the hazy, mythical time of his Teutonic gods, or revived Medieval legends, or nocturnal lovers. Time on stage is presented through darkness and light as the sun or moon sets or rises. Fortuny’s nuanced colour blending created realistic phases of the sun’s light as it passes through the sky. His moon lamp and the infinite palette of blues he could conjure would keep the audience believing it is night for as long as Wagner prescribed. As Adorno describes it:

The standing-still of time and the complete occultation of nature by means of phantasmagoria are thus brought together in the memory of a pristine age where time is guaranteed only by the stars. Time is the all-important element of production that phantasmagoria, the mirage of eternity, obscures.<sup>230</sup>

One’s own sense of temporality is suppressed and replaced by a phantasmagoric representation of Wagnerian, eternal, otherworldly time.

The three characteristic aspects of phantasmagoria that Adorno identifies in Wagner’s operas may be found across all of Fortuny’s phantasmagoric machines. These

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<sup>227</sup> Wagner. Speech. 22 May 1872.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>229</sup> A phrase Fortuny uses in *Théâtre Lumière*. 1. My translation.

<sup>230</sup> Adorno. *In Search of Wagner*. 76.

three principles have been summarized in this chapter as, the concealment of labour, spatial illusion, and temporal delusion.<sup>231</sup> As we have seen, Fortuny's processes – in fashion and textiles, in photography, and in theatre lighting were (and still are) veiled in secrecy. Fortuny, who was quick to patent his designs, was notoriously private and protective over his ideas, concealing his labour.

As for spatial illusion, we have seen Fortuny's darkroom and his folding cycloramas as inside out spaces. Like Proust's bedroom, Fortuny's darkroom, was a space of inversion. His collapsible dome was used for indoor private theatre space for the Parisian 'elites', but also in a public Roman square for the Fascist Ministry of Culture's project to bring theatre to the masses. And, as the astonished journalist reported in 1932, Fortuny conjured 'a sky, a real sky' inside a 'shut-up room' with his electrified theatre models.<sup>232</sup>

Lastly, temporal delusion is replete in Fortuny's work, as has been argued throughout 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias'. His textile machines were used to replicate patterns from his antique fabric collection, his pleating machine re-created the folds of Ancient Greek gowns and symbolized the asynchronous memories of Proust's narrator. Fortuny used his custom enlarger to photographically reprint paintings of the Renaissance, and his theatre lighting system combined the old tricks of stage magic and newer innovations in electricity to re-create night and day, mountains, clouds, lightning, and rivers. Though he was a revivalist, he invented machines and utilized new technology to conjure his phantasmagoric creations.

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<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.* 70-77.

<sup>232</sup> Tumiati. 'Il mio vicino mago'. Quoted in de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 24-25.

## CHAPTER 4

### *TESSUTI*<sup>1</sup>

Although two exhibitions of Fortuny's photographs have been staged in Venice, there is one set of prints that has yet to be shown or examined.<sup>2</sup> In one of the many albums archived in the Museo Fortuny prepared by Fortuny and Henriette, there are eight enigmatic contact prints that show fabric pressed into photographic paper (also called tissue). In Italian, *tessuti* is the word for both 'fabrics' and 'tissues' – a word that, in this mysterious set of photographic prints, describes both their subject and their materiality. These seem to be experimental prints, as the papers are different weights, textures, and slightly different pale colours. (Figs. 93-98a,b, Plate 44) This particular album containing the contact prints also holds a random sampling of Fortuny's rubbings and tracings – all indexical methods of construction, haptical media. The only cohesive theme throughout the album is that all of the images have been made through a tactile process.

Fortuny made this series of experimental photographic contact prints in a process curiously congruent with the pleating of his Delphos gown. For the prints, damp folds of crumpled fabric were pressed into tissue coated in congealed, sensitized gelatine. Like his printed gowns, these *tessuti* were covered in albumen from rotting egg whites.<sup>3</sup> Unlike the memory-inducing taste of the folds of Proust's madeleine and the sensuously clingy pleats of the Delphos that invoke the narrator's desire for Venice, Fortuny's photographs depict an excess of folds that are flattened, abstracted, indecipherable, and abject. These contact prints (the most tactile of photographic processes) present a forensic view of the threaded texture of the fabric folds and Fortuny's own fingerprints accidentally pressed into the yellowish surface.

Fortuny, as an artist passionate about light, utilized the medium of photography in many different ways. He used photography as a tool for reference when painting portraits, still lifes, and nudes, as well as for documentation as he extensively photographed and

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<sup>1</sup> Portions of this chapter were presented in a paper titled, 'Proust and Fortuny: A Synaesthetic Reading of Folds' given at *Textures*, a French Graduate Research Conference at Trinity College Cambridge University, 9 May 2014.

<sup>2</sup> *Viaggio in Egitto* presented Fortuny's travel photographs from his 1938 trip to Egypt and *L'occhio di Fortuny* displayed his panoramic photograph, landscapes and other images from life in Venice. I am grateful to Claudio Franzini for bringing these exhibitions to my attention and providing me with catalogues. For his assistance with these prints and for photographing them for me to reproduce here, I am greatly indebted.

<sup>3</sup> On the use of albumen in his printed gowns see: 'Pleated Time'. 98.

catalogued his oeuvre with the help of his wife Henriette in the last years of his life. Fortuny took many photographs of Henriette in Palazzo Orfei and his mother and sister in Palazzo Martinengo. Only some of these compositions were eventually painted. He exploited the new techniques allowed by Kodak's Panoram to take panoramic photographs of outdoor scenes across his European travels, with the majority of them being of his adopted city, Venice.<sup>4</sup> Fortuny's travel albums are filled with an abundance of photographs he took at temples and theatres in Greece, markets in Cairo, at the Pyramids in Giza, on boats down the Nile... Fortuny's biographer, Guillermo de Osma, estimates that at the artist's passing his collection of photographic negatives exceeded 10,000.<sup>5</sup> The photographic archives at Museo Fortuny are comprised of this enormous collection of negatives as well as printed photographs mounted on cardstock and organized into categories by subject: people, documentary, landscapes, cityscapes, travel, etc.

Many of Fortuny's invented photographic practices are curious inversions of normal processes. As a continually experimenting artist, Fortuny utilized newly available technologies in photography as well as finding new ways of manipulating established photographic practises. As was described in 'Secret Spaces', Fortuny's darkroom was a site of inversion of traditional processes. He made an enlarger out of a large format camera and connected its bellows to the window in the darkroom to use natural light instead of bulbs for printing. This also allowed him to print on a horizontal axis instead of the traditional vertical setup for photographic printing (the light shining down from the enlarger through the negative and onto the sensitized paper). In one of his patents, he describes a more artistic form of printing photographs. He produced a carbon printing paper that was coated with grit to give a rough texture to the print – something he equated with the artistic, a contrast to the smooth-surfaced science that photography had become.<sup>6</sup> The eight contact prints to be examined here are most likely a result of further photographic experimentation. Fortuny inverted the traditional process of photography (the medium of 'light' 'writing')<sup>7</sup> by completely removing the element of light in the

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<sup>4</sup> de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 54. On the development of panoramic photographic technology and Fortuny's use of it see: Alberto Sdegno. 'Una Tecnica per la Poesia'. *L'Occhio di Fortuny*. 14-17.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> Mariano Fortuny. 'carta fotografia' 23 February 1932. Italian patent 305371. Il Fondo Mariutti, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana [M8.10.1].

<sup>7</sup> The etymology being photo = light and graph = writing.

production of these prints, and instead producing them by touch. These contact print photographs have been completely overlooked in scholarship on Fortuny, reasons likely being: that they have yet to be exhibited; they are bewilderingly abstract in form; and their production is mystifying.

This chapter, centring on Fortuny's prints, investigates the tactile qualities of photography and fabric and how both are intertwined not only by Fortuny, but also by Marcel Proust and the French psychiatrist and mentor to Jacques Lacan, Gaëtan Gatian de Clérambault (1872-1943). This chapter proposes that Fortuny may have invented a hybrid photographic process to create his damp, shadowy folds by combining two alternative printing techniques. Though there are similarities in the processes, these abstract, abject folds are the shadowy counterpart to the diaphanous, shimmering pleats of his Delphos gown. The pleats of the gown sensuously open and close. The form of the fold represents the potential for opening – to see into the pleat is to uncover, to unfold. However, the folds in the contact prints are irregular and frozen, denying any in-depth reading. This chapter compares Fortuny's photographed fabric wrinkles to the unopened folds of de Clérambault's photographs of draped figures in North Africa, to contemporary photographs of rags in the streets of Paris, and to Cy Twombly's paint-soaked wads of tissue.

### **Pressing and Preserving: Touch, Photography, Fabric<sup>8</sup>**

The first page of the album catalogued as *album fotografico tessuti* contains a tracing of what appears to be the Delphic Charioteer statue, the inspiration and namesake of Fortuny's Delphos gown. Created by the direct contact with an image to be replicated, this tracing sets the tone for the haptic, indexical materiality of each item in this album. Then there are eight experimental contact prints of wrinkled fabrics on coloured papers of various weights. Following these prints are various rubbings of relief-sculpted words (perhaps from the bases of statues or plaques in Venice): '*pagina*', '*templum*', and '*troaom*'. In these rubbings, words become images through the mediation of thin paper between the sculpted words and the pencil. Rubbings are a sort of haptical magic where touch is made visible. There are tracings of Asian and Arabic decorative patterns, designs

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<sup>8</sup> My thinking on photography, fabric, and touch has been greatly shaped by reading Roland Barthes and Marcel Proust with Carol Mavor. For reference, see Mavor's 'Collecting Loss'. *Cultural Studies*, 11:1 (1997), 111-137. and 'Odor di Femina: Though you cannot see her you can certainly smell her'. *Cultural Studies*, 12:1 (1998), 51-81.

for Wagnerian costumes, ornamental Islamic script, lions, birds, and angels, turban designs, Celtic knots, lamp designs, and the figures of the bell ringers atop the bell tower in Venice. Lacking any cohesive theme as regards subject matter, it seems these tracings, rubbings, and contact prints were assembled together into an album purely on the basis that they are all produced in a similar manner – through the indexical trace, direct contact.<sup>9</sup>

The medium of photography, especially contact printing, is as haptic and indexical as the techniques of rubbings and tracings. As Rosalind Krauss puts it: ‘Photography can only operate with the directness of a physical graft; photography turns on the activity of direct impression as surely as the footprint that is left on sand.’<sup>10</sup> This directness is at work in Fortuny’s fabric contact prints as the damp twisted fabrics were pressed into the sensitized gelatine on the tissue: *tessuti* onto *tessuti*. (Figs. 93, 94) And in an even more evident expression of the indexicality of these prints, the yellowish print (Plate 44) contains two accidental fingerprints in the lower left corner. The surfaces of his fingers were pressed into the tissue just as even the threads of the fabric are evident through this highly sensitive process.

The magic of photography is precisely this indexicality, that like the fingerprint in the sensitized gelatine (or the footprint on the sand<sup>11</sup>) it bears a trace of its referent, of the subject/object ‘that has been’<sup>12</sup>. ‘What is indexical is the mode of production itself, the principle of the *taking*.’<sup>13</sup> Indexicality in traditional photography is produced by light reflecting off of the subject/object and onto the light-sensitive material (usually a film negative or sensitized paper). This connection between what is photographed (the referent) and its presence in the photograph is created through materialized light: light touched the subject, touches the negative, touches the paper, touches the viewer’s eyes.

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<sup>9</sup> As helpfully summarized by Christian Metz in ‘Photography and Fetish’. *October*, vol. 34 (Autumn, 1985), 81-90. 82: ‘[Charles Sanders] Pierce called indexical the process of signification (*semiosis*) in which the signifier is bound to the referent not by a social convention (= “symbol”), not necessarily by some similarity (= “icon”), but by an actual contiguity or connection in the world [...]’

<sup>10</sup> Rosalind Krauss. ‘Tracing Nadar’. *October*, Vol. 5 Photography (Summer, 1978) 29-47. 33-34; Also quoted by Carol Mavor, linking the similarity of the photograph and its referent to the maternal body. *Pleasures Taken*. (London: I.B. Tauris) 1996. 54.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> ‘The *noeme* of Photography is simple, banal; no depth: “that has been.”’ Roland Barthes. *Camera Lucida*. 115.

<sup>13</sup> Metz. ‘Photography and Fetish’. 82.

This relationship of touch and photography is part of what drives Roland Barthes' complex desire for the photographic in his *Camera Lucida*:

[...] I am delighted (or depressed) to know that the thing of the past, by its immediate radiations (luminances), has really touched the surface which in its turn my gaze will touch, [...]. What matters to me is not the photograph's 'life' (a purely ideological notion) but the certainty that the photographed body touches me with its own rays [...].<sup>14</sup>

Light, generally then, is the agent of indexicality in the photograph. According to William Henry Fox Talbot, the profound discovery of photography was 'that light could indeed 'exert an *action*... sufficient to cause changes in material bodies'.<sup>15</sup>

Christian Metz argues that photographs (and film) carry their referents through both the indexical and the iconic: They are

[...] *prints* of real objects, prints left on a special surface by a combination of light and chemical action. This indexicality, of course, leaves room for iconic aspects, as the chemical image often looks like the object (Pierce considered photography as an index *and* an icon).<sup>16</sup>

The photographic image bears the likeness of that which *has been* but it also carries with it a trace of that which *has been*.

As Barthes describes in his meditation on photography: 'It is as if the Photograph always carries its referent with itself, [...]. In short, the referent adheres.'<sup>17</sup> Because of this stubborn referent<sup>18</sup> that keeps showing itself in a photograph long after it *has been*, photography is a phantasmagoric medium. There is '[...] that rather terrible thing which is there in every photograph: the return of the dead.'<sup>19</sup> Just as the early magic lantern operators frightened their viewers with images of the recently deceased during the French Revolution, photographs of people that are no longer living confront Barthes and fill him with a combination of disgust, frustration, fear, desire, and madness.<sup>20</sup>

The desire to bring back the dead through photography manifested into a strange practice during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. After the departed was cremated, their ashes were

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<sup>14</sup> Barthes. *Camera Lucida*. 81.

<sup>15</sup> William Henry Fox Talbot. *The Pencil of Nature*. Facsimile edition, New York: Da Capo Press, 1969. Introduction, n.p. quoted in Krauss. 'Tracing Nadar'. 39.

<sup>16</sup> Metz. 'Photography and Fetish'. 82.

<sup>17</sup> Barthes. *Camera Lucida*. 5-6.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* 6.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 9.

<sup>20</sup> On the magic lantern's use in the French Revolution see Introduction 23.



reduced to carbon and put into the gelatine solution used to sensitize paper for carbon-bromide (carbros) printing.<sup>21</sup> The human ash would replace the potash (water-soluble potassium compound), typically made of burnt plants, wood, etc., that was required for carbon printing. When light shone through a photographic negative of a portrait of the deceased onto the sensitized paper, the carbon solution '[would] adhere to the parts unexposed to light and a portrait [was] obtained composed entirely of the person it represent[ed].'<sup>22</sup> As carbros printing specialist Richard McCowan quips, 'It not only looked like Sir Henry, it was Sir Henry.'<sup>23</sup> These photographs are an icon of their referents (they portray the likeness of the subject), and their indexicality is not only through the light that carried the physical trace of the subject to the photograph, but also from the direct physical trace of the deceased's remains that make up the unexposed portions of the photograph. This level of the presence of the referent, of what *has been*, is another indexical layer that emphasizes the physicality of the photograph. This layering of indexicality is what is at work in Fortuny's contact prints. Further enunciating the tactile quality of the photographs, the surface of the yellowish print not only bears the traces of where Fortuny's fingers were pressed into the tissue just as the threads of the fabric were, but the photographic tissue is itself wrinkled and torn. (Plate 44)

However, the indexicality of Fortuny's contact prints of fabric comes not from light, but instead through direct touch. He produced the prints in darkness. Based on the Museo Fortuny archivist's insistence that these photographs are carbon prints made without any light exposure, I tentatively suggest that to make these contact prints Fortuny soaked fabrics in a reactant solution before pressing them into sensitized paper where the gelatine-covered tissue would harden upon contact.<sup>24</sup> I propose that Fortuny's process

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<sup>21</sup> Richard McCowan. 'Carbros Printing'. *Unique Traditional Processes*. For Freestylephoto.biz <<http://www.freestylephoto.biz/traditional-processes-carbros-printing?pg=2>> accessed August 2012.

<sup>22</sup> Aaron Scharf. *Creative Photography*. London: Studio Vista, 1965. 25; cited in Krauss. 'Tracing Nadar'. 37.

<sup>23</sup> McCowan. 'Carbros Printing'.

<sup>24</sup> Claudio Franzini. Interviewed by author. Palazzo Fortuny, January 25, 2012. I am very grateful to Claudio for entertaining my persistent questions about these perplexing photographs. I also owe thanks to Art Kaplan at The Getty Research Institute for his thoughts on these mysterious photographs. I do, however, take full ownership of errors in my hypothesis. Another possible explanation, if we interpret Mr. Franzini's insistence of a lightless process to only refer to the final printing, is that contact prints of the fabric could have been made with light (like a cyanotype) and then transferred using the ozobrome process (which is lightless).

was an experimental combination of the ‘carbros’ (carbon bromide) and ozobrome processes. Without readings of the contact prints from an X-ray fluorescence spectrometer, there is no definitive way to ascertain the chemistry Fortuny used.<sup>25</sup> Mr. Franzini, the Museo Fortuny archivist, supposed them to be carbon printed – a photographic process in which Fortuny was already adept, having patented his own carbon photo papers, and perhaps a process in which he was likely to continue experimenting. The ozobrome process is one of very few where an image is ‘produced by a chemical process instead of by the direct action of the light.’<sup>26</sup>

Fortuny would have begun the modified carbon printing process by ‘making a sheet of pigmented gelatin called a “tissue.”’<sup>27</sup> Then, after pressing the image into the tissue, the unhardened areas of gelatine dissolve in the developing bath of warm water.

By the 20th century, carbon printing was known for its sensitivity and tonal range – aspects of photography that Fortuny was trying to improve upon. On the advantages of carbon printing, in 1903 photographer T. S. Baldwin wrote:

It is very doubtful whether any process so completely fills the requirements of the artistic photographer as does the carbon process. Its long scale, reproducing perfectly every gradation of the original negative, its permanence, its great variety of color, its wonderful transparency in the deepest shadows, and its adaptability to any surface, all combine to render it the most perfect of photographic printing methods.<sup>28</sup>

And in closing his chapter on carbon printing, Baldwin ‘urge[s] every serious photographer to master this fascinating process, for, till he has done so, he must be unaware of many of the possibilities of his art.’<sup>29</sup> Fortuny’s own carbon paper, patented in 1931 with its extended range of sensitivity, was sold to the German photo company

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<sup>25</sup> Mr. Kaplan has suggested this non-destructive process as the surest way to determine the chemistry of the prints.

<sup>26</sup> ‘The Ozobrome Process’ chpt. XVII *Complete Self-Instructing Library of Practical Photography*, vol. V *Photographic Printing* part II. Ed. J.B. Schriever. (Scranton, P.A.: American School of Art and Photography) 1909. Accessed via [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org) August 2012. 131-132. See also T. S. Baldwin. Chpt. XVIII. *Picture Making for Pleasure & Profit*. Chicago, 1903. Accessed via [www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org) August 2012.

<sup>27</sup> George Eastman House. ‘The Carbon Print: History & Technique’. Website for a workshop on carbon printing 22-24 October, 2012. Rochester, New York. <http://www.eastmanhouse.org/events/detail.php?title=photo-workshop-17-2012> accessed August 2012.

<sup>28</sup> Baldwin. *Picture Making for Pleasure & Profit*. 195.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 205.

Agfa.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps Fortuny, in these mysterious prints, was experimenting with the lightless possibilities of carbon printing and with the directness of contact printing.

The ozobrome process, which was a modification of carbon printing, is one of the only processes for making photographs with chemical action instead of light.<sup>31</sup> The process was meant to be a simplification of typical carbon printing, as condensers and enlargers were unnecessary. In the early 20th century both J.B. Schriever in *Complete Self-Instructing Library of Practical Photography* (1909) and James A. Sinclair in *The Sinclair Handbook of Photography* (1913) note that ozobrome printing can be done by chemical action instead of light.<sup>32</sup> Fortuny, whose complete oeuvre is linked by the theme of light (playing on his silk dresses and the metallic pigments in his velvets and cottons, the study of theatre lighting and invention of indirect lighting systems, etc.), here in the medium most associated with light, chose to create his prints in darkness.

By 1908, Kodak offered ozobrome transfer papers in their catalogue in various tones: 'Engraving Black', 'Warm Black', 'Blue Black', 'Sepia', 'Warm Sepia', 'Portrait Brown', 'Red Chalk', 'Terra Cotta', 'Marine Blue', 'Sea Green', and 'Italian Green'.<sup>33</sup>

These papers were marketed as:

The new process for making true carbon prints, or enlargements, without sunlight and without transferring. The print is produced entirely by chemical action set up when a Velox or Bromide print is placed in contact with a sheet of the sensitized Ozobrome Tissue.<sup>34</sup>

For making these ozobromes, a bromide print is placed directly in contact with the tissue that has been sensitized with ozobrome solution. However, instead of placing a photographic print onto the sensitized paper as the typical ozobrome process requires, Fortuny pressed the subject itself – the fabric folds. In these prints, Fortuny's method of picture *taking* is *touching*. Less removed from the subject that is captured traditionally by the trace of light imprinted on the negative, Fortuny's subject (the crumpled fabrics)

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<sup>30</sup> Claudio Franzini. Interview. 22 June 2011.

<sup>31</sup> Schriever. 'The Ozobrome Process'. 131-136. And Thomas Manly. 'Ozobrome'. chapter XVI. *The Sinclair Handbook of Photography*. (James A. Sinclair & Co., Ltd) 1913. 121-124. Accessed via <<https://archive.org/stream/sinclairhandbook00sincuoft>>May 2014

<sup>32</sup> Schriever. 'The Ozobrome Process'; Manly. 'Ozobrome'.

<sup>33</sup> Kodak catalogue. Eastman Kodak Company. (Rochester, N.Y.) 1908. 53. Digitized by the Central Library of Rochester and Monroe County. Accessed: <[http://www.libraryweb.org/~digitized/tradecats/kodak/Kodaks\\_and\\_Kodak\\_supplies\\_1908.pdf](http://www.libraryweb.org/~digitized/tradecats/kodak/Kodaks_and_Kodak_supplies_1908.pdf)>

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

directly touched the sensitized tissue (*tessuti* on *tessuti*). It is likely that Fortuny created his gelatinous emulsion from albumen, as he had in for other photographic prints,<sup>35</sup> adding his own ozobrome salts to the solution. The sulphuric albumen, which fixed printed patterns on ‘that indoor gown [...] with the curious smell’,<sup>36</sup> is quite possibly the same gelatinous substance that coated the sensitized paper. The folds of the damp fabric were pressed into the sensitized tissue just as the wet pleats of the Delphos gowns were pressed into their permanence.

After the image was developed by being in contact with the sensitized paper, it was to be put into warm water. One manual describes the water bath this way: ‘In a few moments the pigment will begin to ooze from the edge of the print.’<sup>37</sup> (Fig. 96) Then after a final rinse, the prints are fixed permanently.

The folds of the fabric in the contact prints are frozen into flatness, where the pleats of the Delphos gown move on and around the body, sensuously opening and closing to reveal its form underneath. The depth of the photographic folds is suppressed. The flatness of the photograph subverts the tactility of the folds. On the desire to touch the photographic referent, Barthes says:

I must therefore submit to this law: I cannot penetrate, cannot reach into the Photograph. I can only sweep it with my glance, like a smooth surface. The Photograph is *flat*, platitudinous in the true sense of the word, that is what I must acknowledge.<sup>38</sup>

We could here add, ‘I cannot peer into the pleats’. Fortuny’s flattened fabric folds do not yield to the body as the pleats of his gowns do.

The revealing folds of the Delphos undulate between obscurity and observation and emblemize Proustian deferrals.<sup>39</sup> Benjamin writes that Proust’s narrator unfolds his memory for the reader, and that now ‘no image satisfies him, for he has seen that it can be unfolded, and only in its folds does the truth reside [...]’.<sup>40</sup> Proust’s narrator (and, as Benjamin pointed out, his reader) continuously oscillates between knowledge of the surface of a character or event and what is hidden behind it, inside it – in the fold. *À la recherche du temps perdu* is structured around the deferral of understanding/desire and its

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<sup>35</sup> Claudio Franzini. Interview. January 25, 2012.

<sup>36</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V. 48.

<sup>37</sup> Schriever. ‘The Ozobrome Process’. 136.

<sup>38</sup> Barthes. *Camera Lucida*. 106

<sup>39</sup> On the idea of the fold as deferral: Alice Gavin. ‘The Matter with de Clérambault: On the Baroque Obscene’. *Textile*, Vol.7, 1. 2009, 56-67. 59.

<sup>40</sup> Benjamin. ‘A Berlin Chronicle’. (1932) *One Way Street and Other Writings*. 296.

eventual fruition. The silky pleats of the Delphos that cling to the feminine form conjure the desire for the damp, sensual, sometimes smelly Venice. These pressed photographic folds are abject. Like the labyrinth alleys of Venice, their form is bewilderingly abstract. They smell, they ooze...

## FOLDS AND THE HORROR OF NOTHINGNESS

The fabric folds in Fortuny's contact prints do not reveal anything. They work against the iconographic properties of the photograph, a cohesive form is not easily recognisable. Instead, they 'remain closer to the pure index [...]'<sup>41</sup> as the form of the folds themselves becomes the subject of these prints. (Figs. 97, 98a, b) As Deleuze claims for the Baroque fold, there seems here to be an infinity of folds, and even what might seem unfolded (the pressed open areas) is not the opposite of folding, but rather its continuation.<sup>42</sup> These folds do not disclose.

It [The Baroque] endlessly produces folds. [...] the Baroque trait twists and turns its folds, pushing them to infinity, fold over fold, one upon the other. The Baroque fold unfurls all the way to infinity.<sup>43</sup>

In contrast to Fortuny's panoramic photographs, the folds in these contact prints reveal a nothingness. Most of his panoramic photographs of scenes in France and Venice are full of the space and openness of the sea and sky. The idea of the panoramic photo was to show as much as possible. The panoramic view, extending into peripheral vision, gives too much to see. This de-centred perspective from the too-muchness of all that is included in the panoramas is also at work in the contact prints, where there is no real centre or focal point. In the *tessuti* prints, the de-centred too-muchness becomes a nothingness where the folds of textiles are pressed into bewildering abstraction. The flatness of photography is emphasized in the suppression of depth found in the folds that have been pressed into the paper and the tactile quality of the fabric is no longer felt against skin, but seen with the eyes. As Barthes lamented, what has been photographed cannot be 'penetrated' – 'the Photograph is *flat*'.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> As Metz says in comparing film and photography, 'Photography [...], remains closer to the pure index [...]'. 'Photography and Fetish'. 83.

<sup>42</sup> 'Unfolding is thus not the contrary of folding, but follows the fold up to the following fold.' Deleuze. *The Fold*. 6.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 3.

<sup>44</sup> Barthes. *Camera Lucida*. 106.

Fortuny's photographed folds cannot be touched, cannot be opened; what is within them cannot be known. The game of concealment and revelation that is at play in the form of the fold is halted, fixed in the photograph. Gaëtan Gatian de Clérambault, a French physician who also taught courses on drapery at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris from 1923 to 1926, played his own game of folds.<sup>45</sup> In addition to his research on women who suffered addictions to fabric (which we will turn to later in this chapter), he too photographed fabric folds. As part of his study of Arabic dress, de Clérambault took thousands of photographs of draped men and women while in Morocco between 1914 and 1918.<sup>46</sup> De Clérambault aimed to create an ethnographic study of folds, elucidating formal distinctions between the drapery of various historic eastern and western cultures.<sup>47</sup> Joan Copjec, who estimates that the French doctor took 40,000 photographs in Morocco, judiciously argues that they expose De Clérambault as a fetishist.<sup>48</sup> Starting from Freud, Copjec ultimately concludes that it is the uselessness of so many of de Clérambault's photographs of veiled figures that betray them as fetishistic.<sup>49</sup> De Clérambault tried to donate some of his photos to the Ministry of Fine Arts in 1924 and he received a letter 'from the archivist, informing him that 530 of the photographs were interesting and the others "which are defective or completely alien to art will be destroyed, unless you want to collect them"'.<sup>50</sup>

Just as Fortuny's photographic folds do not open up and reveal, so too are de Clérambault's photographed folds solidly opaque as they conceal the North African bodies onto which they are draped. His pleasure in these images perhaps arose from fixating on the texture of the stiffened silk folds – de Clérambault enjoyed the stiffness of

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<sup>45</sup> Leslie Camhi. 'Stealing Femininity: department store kleptomania as sexual disorder'. *difference: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*. 5.1 (Spring 1993): 26-50. 26. Gen Doy. *Drapery: Classicism and Barbarism in Visual Culture*. (London: I.B. Tauris) 2002. 61. See also: 36-38.

<sup>46</sup> Joan Copjec. 'The Sartorial Superego'. *October* 50 (1989): 59-95. 59. Camhi dates the photographs from two visits in 1912 and 1919. 'Stealing Femininity'. 26.

<sup>47</sup> Copjec. 'The Sartorial Superego'. 64-66.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.* 69, 88-95. Doy's estimate of the total number of photographs is much lower – 6,000. *Drapery*. 104.

<sup>49</sup> 'For these photographs are, like all fetish objects, "marked with the seal of uselessness".' Copjec. 'The Sartorial Superego'. 94; quoting Jean Clavreul. 'The Perverse Couple'. *Returning to Freud: Clinical Psychoanalysis in the School of Lacan*. Ed. Stuart Schneiderman. (New Haven: Yale University Press) 1980. 226.

<sup>50</sup> Doy. *Drapery*. 126 citing: Clérambault's documents in the archives at Musée de l'Homme, Paris.

the freshly air-dried silk – or, from imaging what was beneath them.<sup>51</sup> Alice Gavin says behind de Clérambault's desire for the surface of the folds is also '[...] a kind of delight in an excess of concealment, a recurring surfacing of surface.'<sup>52</sup> Gavin continues on to say that because these opaque folds yield nothing about what they conceal, 'the observer' has an 'eagerness' 'to participate in the process of his own deception. Better there be some unsightly "behind the scenes" than the horror of there being nothing.'<sup>53</sup> In his book on folds, Deleuze says that de Clérambault finds 'hallucinatory perceptions' in folds:

In this way the psychiatrist Clérambault's taste for folds of Islamic origin, and his extraordinary photographs of veiled women – [...] – amounts, despite what has been said, to much more than a simple personal perversion. [...] If Clérambault manifests a delirium, it is because he discovers the tiny hallucinatory perceptions of ether addicts in the folds of clothing.<sup>54</sup>

Similarly, Barthes finds photography a hallucinatory medium:

Now, in the Photograph, what I posit is not only the absence of the object; it is also, [...], the fact that this object has indeed existed and that it has been there where I see it. [...] The Photograph then becomes a bizarre *medium*, a new form of hallucination: false on the level of perception, true on the level of time: a temporal hallucination, [...] (on the one hand 'it is there,' on the other 'but it has indeed been'): a mad image, chafed by reality.<sup>55</sup>

Fortuny's photographed folds are bizarre even beyond the temporal hallucination that Barthes finds inherent in photography: that what 'has been' yet no longer is, is in the image. The wildly abstract folds in Fortuny's contact prints invite a sort of delirious looking where, instead of finding 'hallucinatory perceptions' in the folds, nothing is revealed.

Instead of fantasizing about what shocking things might be hidden behind folds or being shocked to find nothing, Mann's Aschenbach (in *Death in Venice*) finds pleasure in the nothingness as he watches the folds of the ocean crash into the Venetian shore –

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<sup>51</sup> Copjec. 'The Sartorial Superego'. 92.

<sup>52</sup> Gavin. 'The Matter with de Clérambault'. 59.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> Deleuze. *The Fold*. 38.

<sup>55</sup> Roland Barthes. *Camera Lucida*. 115

before collapsing, the waves of the sea open themselves up to reveal their nothingness.<sup>56</sup>

We are told that in contrast to his precise work as a writer, Aschenbach felt:

[...] a lure, for the unorganized, the immeasurable, the eternal – in short, for nothingness. He whose preoccupation is with excellence longs fervently to find rest in perfection; and is not nothingness a form of perfection?<sup>57</sup>

Mann compares this rippling, opening, flattening sea to satin.<sup>58</sup> In the pleasure of nothingness, '[Aschenbach] let his eyes swim in the wideness of the sea, his gaze lose focus, blur, and grow vague in the misty immensity of space'.<sup>59</sup> Conversely, Fortuny's photographed fabric folds present an oceanic abstraction that conceals. One does not view the contact prints the way Aschenbach watches the unfolding of the sea, but perhaps rather like seeing de Clérambault's photographed drapery – enjoying the textures of the surface and imagining what lay beneath the folds. This, too, is how Barthes looked at Robert Mapplethorpe's photographs, preferring the 'erotic' to the 'pornographic', the texture of a concealing fabric to the body's blatant exposure.

Mapplethorpe shifts his close-ups of genitalia from the pornographic to the erotic by photographing the fabric of underwear at very close range: the photograph is no longer unary, since I am interested in the texture of the material.<sup>60</sup>

While the fine pleats of Fortuny's Delphos gown erotically reveal the feminine form beneath, there is something abject about the concealing folds in Fortuny's contact prints made by pressing damp fabric into congealed albumen in the dark. They are similar to the putrid, soggy folds of fabric found in Parisian gutters. In 'The Drapery of Sidewalks', Georges Didi-Huberman examines these tattered rags in the urban streets and smelly sewer drains of Paris through the photographs of Alain Fleischer and Steven McQueen, as well as the writing of Walter Benjamin, Charles Baudelaire, and Victor Hugo.<sup>61</sup> Recalling Hugo's writing on subterranean Paris in *Les Misérables* (1862), Didi-Huberman recounts that the sewers would occasionally overflow and flood the streets, as

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<sup>56</sup> Mann. *Death in Venice*. 36.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.* 36.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.* 47.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.* 36.

<sup>60</sup> Barthes. *Camera Lucida*. 42.

<sup>61</sup> Georges Didi-Huberman. 'The Drapery of Sidewalks'. *Herzog & de Meuron: Natural History*. Ed. Philip Ursprung. (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture; Baden, Switzerland: Lars Müller Publishers) 2002. 269-278. Thanks to William Filipski-McDonald for recommending this to me.



if the city had ‘monstrous indigestion’ causing it to regurgitate its waste, its past.<sup>62</sup> He explains that still today, scraps of fabric are used by street cleaners as they flood the dirty urban streets, to ‘channel the flow’ down into those sidewalk drains.<sup>63</sup> Like these re-purposed street rags, Fortuny most likely used salvaged scraps of fabric to press into his contact paper. The photographic series *Barrage [Dam]* (1997) by Steven McQueen (b.1969) and *Les Paysages [Groundscape]* (1967-68) by Alain Fleischer (b.1944) document the filthy textiles after they have been abandoned by Parisian street cleaners.<sup>64</sup> (Plates 45, 46) These photographs show the damp folds of remnant fabrics – what Didi-Huberman calls ‘The Drapery of Sidewalks’ – but like Fortuny’s prints, they do not reveal what refuse might be concealed within them. These wet, stinking folds are abject.

These intentionally flooded streets in Paris recall the habitually flooding, sometimes smelly, always sinking city of Venice, where the alleys are folded around churches and houses into a labyrinth maze. Much like the ever-sinking Venice, Cy Twombly’s drooping, dripping 2001 sculpture *Untitled, Lexington* suggests the temporality of decay. (Plate 47a) The sculpture, like the street photographs by McQueen and Fleischer, is composed of soggy, wrinkled refuse. Twombly used scraps of towels and rags soaked with paint and wadded together, and pressed them into the plaster-covered wooden base. Though it is in three-dimensions, *Untitled, Lexington* is also not unlike the pressed, oozing folds of Fortuny’s photographed fabric, saturated with photochemistry to produce his flat prints. And in both, upon close examination, the textures of the abject wet wrinkles are discernable. (Plates 47b, 44)

The sculpture simultaneously resembles a floral arrangement and used, bloody bandaging. Like the putrid sweetness of a rotting bouquet, Twombly’s paint-soaked gauzy mounds conjure a perfume of decay – the odour of expiring beauty. These corroded blossoms are like Baudelaire’s sensual, corrupting poems, causing both attraction and disgust. Though the literal translation of Baudelaire’s collection of impious poems titled *Fleurs du Mal* is *Flowers of Evil*, in his dedication to Théophile Gautier, Baudelaire refers to them as ‘unhealthy flowers’.<sup>65</sup> The pathologization of extreme

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<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.* 276.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* 269.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.* 270-271.

<sup>65</sup> Charles Baudelaire. ‘Dédicace’. Trans. William Aggeler. *Fleurs du mal*. 1857 edition. Accessed via < <http://fleursdumal.org/poem/098>> Six poems had to be removed from the first edition of *Fleurs du mal*, published in 1857, to comply with a French legal ruling on the morality of the book. < <http://fleursdumal.org/1857-table-of-contents>> Gautier was

sensuality, licentiousness, and decadence – Wagner’s sickly-sweet blooms that intoxicated Baudelaire, inspired Proust, and enthralled Fortuny – are further explored in the Conclusion.

The folds of Fortuny’s prints, like the folds in his Delphos gown, were pressed into permanence whilst damp, and then coated with smelly, sulphuric albumen. The odour of the sensual gowns (the ‘indoor gowns [...] with a curious smell’) <sup>66</sup> had an added earthy sweetness from the amber that was rubbed on them to preserve their gleaming hues.

The strange contact prints were made in darkness. Fortuny, who was obsessed with light (inventing lamps, electric lighting systems, coloured lighting systems, reflective metallic patterns and gleaming gowns), made photographs – the medium that captures light – in darkness. In a way, this small, experimental part of Fortuny’s oeuvre is the exception that proves the rule.

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also a friend of Fortuny’s father. His daughter Judith Gautier (1845-1917) was a friend to Wagner, supplying the composer with French silks and perfumes. Wagner payed her homage in *Parsifal* by giving the name ‘Judith’ to the seductive Kundry after her christening. See: Millington. *The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. 130-131, 154.

<sup>66</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V. 48.

**CONCLUSION**  
**‘NOTHING IS NEW’**

*Nothing is new in this world, so I do not pretend to bring new ideas.* -Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo.<sup>1</sup>

Fortuny was obsessively historic, and his understanding of history was visual. As a young painter he was trained to study and replicate the well-known paintings of the European canon of art history. Fortuny continued to study and replicate images from the history of art, expanding his visual lexicon to include Ancient, Classical, and Medieval architecture, costume, and sculpture from places as far away as China, Japan, New Zealand, Egypt, Ghana, Afghanistan, Turkey, and Peru. As discussed in ‘Secret Spaces’, Fortuny’s Venetian palazzo was filled with artefacts and art objects to represent these far off times and distant places, which he used as direct inspiration in his fabric and clothing designs, still life paintings, drawings, and photographs. His library, filled with a massive collection of photographic reproductions and books, attests to his devoted and detailed study of the history of art. Surely the more one studies history, the more one finds precedents or antecedents for any current or ‘new’ idea; leading Fortuny, in the preface to his notebook of revolutionary theatre lighting inventions, to make the bold claim placed here as an epigraph.

Fortuny was a rogue revivalist, appropriating from several different eras. His patented Delphos gown was inspired by the Ancient Greek bronze statue of the Delphic Charioteer, and his printed cloaks often resembled those from Venetian Renaissance paintings, stamped with patterns imported from the East. As argued in ‘Phantasmagoric Machines’, even in his inventions, Fortuny combined new technologies with old techniques: he used a daylight enlarger to print photographs (and magnify art history slides) in his darkroom after electricity made this configuration obsolete and he used old stage magic tricks and magic lantern-like projections in his revolutionary stage lighting system.

As has been set forth in the Introduction and threaded throughout each chapter of ‘Reviving Fortuny’s Phantasmagorias’, beginning with his training as a painter, Fortuny maintained a constant interest in manipulating light: reflected light shone indirectly from his dome lamps and onto the cupola of his theatre lighting system; diffused light gently glowing from within his fabric-covered lamps; gleaming light

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<sup>1</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 1. My translation.

moving in waves over the pleats of his silk Delphos gown; glittering light reflecting off of the metallic-inks on his printed velvets; natural light streaming into the window of his darkroom through his daylight enlarger; painted light in his Wagnerian scenes; Venetian light in his panoramic photographs; electric light tinted by the coloured gels of his stage lighting system; moonlight from his theatre model's moon lamp; erratic flashes of light from his carbon arc lamps; chemically-imitated light in his experimental contact prints...

These two persistent themes – revivalism (a reviving of something past) and the manipulation of light – combine to make Fortuny's work phantasmagoric. Like the phantasmagorias produced in magic lantern shows of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, his creations are a parade of shimmering allusions to far away times and places. In addition to re-creating historic designs in his clothes, Fortuny's palazzo, filled with memory-laden objects inherited from his parents, served also to revive personal memories. These objects from his personal collection, as well as images from the history of art, were magically multiplied as he re-created them in his secret working spaces. The hidden labour used to make his gowns and textiles aligns with the Marxist use of 'phantasmagoria' to describe the alienation of labour from commodity that leads to the commodity fetish. Inspired by Wagner, whose aim was to create all-encompassing illusions through his music-dramas, Fortuny's theatre lighting system was intended to make these phantasmagorias possible.

Let us once again return to Fortuny's Bayreuth Theatre model and examine how it can be read as a microcosm of Fortuny's oeuvre, encompassing especially these elements of revivalism and light. (Fig. 2, Plates 4-6) 'Phantasmagoric Machines' has examined how the model enacts the phantasmagoria prescribed by Wagnerian opera through three criteria: the concealment of labour, spatial illusion, and temporal delusion. It was also briefly argued that these three criteria comprising Adorno's definition of phantasmagoria is at work in all of Fortuny's machines. Now let us see how Fortuny's Bayreuth Theatre model can be read as emblematic of his artistic approach: always historic, and always through the eyes of a painter.

Fortuny's artistic career was shaped by his experience at Bayreuth, converting to a life-long Wagnerism that permeated his efforts across all the arts. After his return from Bayreuth in 1891, seventeen-year old Fortuny illustrated a Wagnerian cycle with

which his uncle and painting instructor (Raymundo) was apparently unimpressed.<sup>2</sup> In her son's defence, Fortuny's mother wrote, 'Naturally, you must have been in Bayreuth, surrounded by its atmosphere to appreciate them.'<sup>3</sup> It was also this experience at Bayreuth that led Fortuny to envision his theatre lighting system, which would replace static scenery with images and colours projected with electric light and conjure an encompassing illusion of the worlds Wagner had scripted.

In his writing on the development of his theatre lighting system, Fortuny – always looking to the past – claims that to the Greeks and Romans, the construction of theatres was almost as important as the building of temples.<sup>4</sup> Fortuny then connects his admiration for these ancient cultures to Wagner when he describes the Bayreuth Theatre as 'a new Parthenon'.<sup>5</sup> Fortuny writes in his theatre lighting notebook:

Wagner came; he opened a window to the light and made the horizon visible. With very limited means he created Bayreuth, an enormous breath that makes this theatre a new Parthenon, the principle construction of the stage reborn, it's the same wind that has inflated the sails of art.<sup>6</sup>

But it is not only Fortuny who links Wagner to the Greeks. Wagner's own Hellenism is expressed in his *The Art Work of the Future*, where he declares '[...] - let us look far hence to glorious Grecian Art, and gather from its inner understanding the outlines for the Art-work of the Future!'<sup>7</sup> Wagner's plan for the future of art, where the arts are not divided but combined to make a total work of art, is derived from history, from looking to the past. This is in addition to the other ways in which Wagner borrowed from the past: appropriating Norse mythology; Medieval German folk tales and epic poems; the Greek form of the tetralogy (three tragedies followed by a satyr play) as popularized by Aeschylus and Euripides; and the Classical Greek notion of an immersive drama festival for all classes in society.<sup>8</sup> In a way, Wagner's revivalism facilitates Fortuny's. Fortuny's revelatory inventions – the future of stagecraft – were inspired by the ancient world.

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<sup>2</sup> Franzini. 'Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny'. 76.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Fortuny. *Théâtre Lumière*. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* My translation with the help of Deirdre Reynolds.

<sup>7</sup> Wagner. *The Art-Work of the Future*. 19.

<sup>8</sup> Millington. *The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. 88, 90-91. Millington argues that Wagner reverses the Greek tetralogy in his Ring cycle with *Das Rheingold* as a shorter, introductory work preceding the three tragedies.

Similar to Fortuny's claim that he 'does not pretend to bring new ideas', Baudelaire says that 'Wagner makes no claim to be an inventor, but simply the vindicator of an old idea.'<sup>9</sup>

Fortuny applied the whole of his skills and talents to Wagnerian opera: he sketched, painted, and engraved scenes; he fashioned Wagnerian costumes; he designed sets; he invented a system of lighting inspired by Wagner's stage directions; and he used photography to make scale models of characters for set plans. Wagnerian ideals influenced his work across various mediums, facilitated his revivalism, inspired his inventions, and prescribed the phantasmagoric vision through which this thesis has interpreted his oeuvre.

More specifically, in the Bayreuth Model Fortuny utilized several of his talents across a range of media. He fitted his lighting system and cupola to Wagner's architectural blueprint. He used his own landscape photographs in the model in three ways: on glass slides the images were shone through a projector to create scenery; his photographs of clouds were mounted on hinges to reflect patched light onto the concave sky; and photographed mountains were printed on a small scale, cut out and pasted onto a board to function as static stage props. The sophisticated blending of coloured electric light drew upon Fortuny's training as a painter. As he himself claimed, 'It is as a painter that I speak of light [...].'<sup>10</sup>

Fortuny understood the importance of light in accomplishing Wagner's vision for a total art work – a seamless illusion that synthesized sight and sound, that conjured tastes and smells, that put goose bumps on flesh. Fortuny's painting of the Rainbow Bridge scene as the gods enter Valhalla at the end of *Das Rheingold* show how he portrayed coloured light in the medium of paint. (Plate 7) By painting with light, Fortuny made it possible for scenery to change in time with the music, which would enact the delicate transitions Wagner orchestrated.<sup>11</sup> Fortuny himself speaks of blending the electric light as if it were paint: he says his system 'permits the artist to mix his colours on stage, to paint in the theatre as if with a palette.'<sup>12</sup> The blending of projected colours matches the blended instrumentation that is so specifically Wagnerian. Adorno,

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<sup>9</sup> Charles Baudelaire. 'Richard Wagner and Tannhäuser in Paris'. *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*. 111 – 146. 120. [Originally written 8 April 1861]

<sup>10</sup> Epigraph quote, Franzini. 'Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny'. 75. My translation.

<sup>11</sup> Fortuny. *Éclairage Scénique*. 13; quoted in de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*. 70.

<sup>12</sup> Fortuny. *Ibid.* 3; quoted in de Osma. *Ibid.* 65.

in his book on Wagner, describes this acoustic colouring, invoking the composer's own words:

The art of orchestration in the precise sense, as the productive share of colour in the musical process 'in such a way that colour itself becomes action', is something that did not exist before Wagner.<sup>13</sup>

Similarly, Baudelaire wrote of Wagner as a painter:

No musician excels as Wagner does in *painting* space and depth, both material and spiritual. It is an observation that several critics, and those among the best, have been constrained to make on several occasions. He possesses the art of translating, by means of the subtlest shades, all that is excessive, immense and ambitious in spiritual and natural man.<sup>14</sup>

By projecting coloured light, Fortuny was able to realize Wagner's aural painting, accomplishing the composer's dream of the complete phantasmagoria. Fortuny helped translate sound to vision.

Now, let us open outward from this emblem to give a large picture of the sensuality of Wagnerian opera, to which Fortuny was so devoted, as it was interpreted in late 19<sup>th</sup>-/early 20<sup>th</sup>- century Europe: how Wagner and his work relates to silk and ideas of illness. The following section brings together several disparate aspects that have been examined in 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' while widening contextual information to help situate Fortuny within a specific cultural history, as part of the generation of Wagner's *Tristan*, along with Proust and Mann.<sup>15</sup>

### **Silken Synaesthesia**

Also inspired by Wagner, with the same goal of uniting sound and sight Loie Fuller, sought to make music visible through her choreography and utilisation of coloured lights and swathes of silk.<sup>16</sup> (Figs. 99a, b) Fuller, an American who settled in Paris in 1892, quickly became popular for her innovative dancing, which utilized silks and lighting experiments. She was known to wear costumes of 'hundreds of yards of

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<sup>13</sup> Adorno. *In Search of Wagner*. 60, footnote 1; quoting *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, Vol. III. 330.

<sup>14</sup> Baudelaire. 'Richard Wagner and Tannhäuser in Paris'. 117.

<sup>15</sup> See: Introduction. 47 Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 250.

<sup>16</sup> Sally R. Sommer. 'Loie Fuller's Art of Music and Light'. *Dance Chronicle*, Vol.4, No.4 (1981) Taylor & Francis, Ltd. 389-401. 394. She also performed her *Fire Dance* to Wagner's 'Ride of the Valkyries' in 1896. *Ibid*. 395.

China silk' and to twirl them wildly beneath coloured lighting.<sup>17</sup> Fortuny commented on the resemblance of the twirling ladies in his painting *Garden of Ornaments and Odoriferous Spirits* (Flower Maidens from *Parsifal*) to watching Fuller dance one of her ballets.<sup>18</sup> (Plate 48)

Like Fortuny, Fuller was often called a magician.<sup>19</sup> As the Venetian artist did with his Delphos gowns, Fuller was known for her innovative utilisation of light, and she too magicked women into mermaids using silk. One of her most renowned performances was for the 1925 Exposition des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels in Paris, presented on the steps of the Grand Palais as *La Mer* (The Sea).<sup>20</sup> Seventy-five dancers moved beneath 4,000 meters of silk whilst blue and green lights rotated over the undulating surface to produce a massive silken sea.<sup>21</sup> In an interview in 1914 Fuller commented, 'Music is the joy of the ears; I would wish to make it the delight of the eyes, to render it pictorial, to make it visible.'<sup>22</sup> This correspondence of the senses was a driving force in art and performance of the late-19<sup>th</sup>/early-20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>23</sup> Both Fuller and Fortuny saw light not only as the means to illuminate the stage, but as a medium of colour to give visual expression to musical performance, to synthesize the senses. This Wagnerian synaesthesia that inspired Fortuny and Fuller (and several other late-19<sup>th</sup>/early-20<sup>th</sup> century artists) was meant to multiply the sensuous effect of his works. Beyond merely seeing and hearing, Wagnerian opera's sensuality overwhelms and invades the senses. After first attending a concert of selected Wagner compositions in Paris in January 1860, Baudelaire penned a gushing letter to the German composer where he described the listening experience as, 'letting myself be penetrated, invaded, a truly sensual voluptuousness, which resembles that of ascending into the atmosphere or of riding the waves...'<sup>24</sup> Later, in his essay 'Richard Wagner et *Tannhäuser* à Paris', Baudelaire

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<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 392.

<sup>18</sup> Franzini. 'Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny'.77.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 389, 398. André Levinson titled her eulogy: 'A magician has died: Loie Fuller descended into the shadow' *Paris Commedia*, 3 January 1928, quoted in *Ibid.* 400 note 3; My translation.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 299 and Rhonda K. Garelick. *Electric Salome: Loie Fuller's Performance of Modernism*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press) 2007.182

<sup>21</sup> Garelick. *Electric Salome*. 186; Sommer. 'Loie Fuller's Art of Music and Light'. 399.

<sup>22</sup> Interview with Loie Fuller: Covielle. 'Danse, musique, lumière, chez Loie Fuller'. *Éclair*, 5 May 1914; quoted in *Ibid.* 390.

<sup>23</sup> Baudelaire used the term 'correspondence' in this way. See his poem, 'Correspondences'. *Fleurs du Mal*. (1857)

<sup>24</sup> Quoted in Dreyfus. *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*. 19, 18-19.



quoted from his own poem ‘Correspondences’ (from 1857 *Fleurs du Mal*) to describe the multi-sensory quality of Wagner’s music.<sup>25</sup>

Nature is a temple in which living pillars sometimes  
let slip confused words; there man passes through forests of  
symbols that watch him with familiar glances.

Like long-drawn echoes mingled from afar in a deep  
and shadowy unity, vast as the night and the brightness of  
day, scents, colours, and sounds answer one another.<sup>26</sup>

The entangling of senses in Wagner’s operas, which is considered characteristic of the Wagnerian conception of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, seduces and enchants listeners.<sup>27</sup> His extremely sensual *Tannhäuser* begins in Venusberg – the home of the love goddess herself, filled with the intertwined bodies of the Three Graces and cupids, wild revelling satyrs, nymphs, fauns, Bacchantes (Maenads), and the title character as lover to Venus, all within a heavy rose-coloured mist beside a foaming waterfall.<sup>28</sup>

Wagner’s eroticism was often hand-in-hand with his revivalism. Wagner scholar Lawrence Dreyfus argues that the atmosphere conjured for Wagner’s own Venusberg was influenced by a German Romantic novella by Ludwig Tieck that he read as a boy.<sup>29</sup> Tieck described a similar scene in his *Der getreue Eckart und der Tannenhäuser* [*The Loyal Eckhardt and Tannenhäuser*] where, as in Baudelaire’s nature-temple, sounds and smells seem to ‘answer one another’.

A bevy of naked girls surrounded me invitingly, perfumes  
swirled magically around my head, as out of the most  
intimate heart of nature there resounded a music which  
cooled with its fresh waves the yearning of wild carnal  
desire. A terror, which crept so stealthily across the fields  
of flowers, heightened the ravishing noise.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Charles Baudelaire. ‘Richard Wagner and *Tannhäuser* in Paris’. *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*. 111-146. [originally appeared in *Revue Européene* 1 April 1861]. 115.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 226 footnote 10. Literal translation to English by Jonathan Mayne.

<sup>27</sup> *Gesamtkunstwerk* translates literally as ‘total work of art’, though as Adorno tells us, ‘Wagner preferred to call it, the “drama of the future” – in which poetry, music and theatre were united.’ Adorno. *In Search of Wagner*. 86.

<sup>28</sup> *Tannhäuser*. Act I, Scene I. Wagner’s stage directions. See also Dreyfus. *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*. 77-80, 84-85.

<sup>29</sup> Dreyfus. *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*. 80-81.

<sup>30</sup> Ludwig Tieck. *Der getreue Eckart und und der Tannenhäuser*. in *Werke in einem Band*. Ed. Richard Alewyn (Hamburg) 1967. 133. [originally written 1799] translated and quoted by Dreyfus. *Ibid.* 81.

Wagner created another sensuously synaesthetic garden in *Parsifal*, where Klingsor's magic garden is filled with tropical blossoms and seductive flower maidens who in Act II 'return wholly dressed in flowers, looking like flowers themselves'.<sup>31</sup> The hero-protagonist, not realising their mal intent, delights at their scent as the flower maidens argue over who smells sweetest. In 1896, Fortuny painted these *blumenmädchen* titling his prize-winning work, 'Ornaments of the Garden and Odoriferous Spirits' to emphasize their olfactoral effect.<sup>32</sup> (Plate 48) The maidens look like the Graces in ecstasy, with their gauzy gowns blowing about their Botticellian bodies, snaking around their arms and dissolving into formless pools at their feet where they stand entangled in fabric and flowers. These flower maidens (*blumenmädchen*), girls in flowers (*mädchen in blumen*), are like Proust's 'young girls in flower' (*mädchen in der blume*) who seduce and tease the protagonist. Titled *À l'ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs* (*In the Shadow of Young Girls in Flower*), Proust's second volume of *À la recherche du temps perdu* is a book filled with sensual longing and young girls in flower.<sup>33</sup> The narrator feels tortured by the Sapphic love that is not his to take part in – he is only in the shadows (*l'ombre*) of their affection. In his methodical biography, Tadié intimates that Proust (another devoted Wagnerite) might have named this volume after these flower maidens from Klingsor's garden in *Parsifal*.<sup>34</sup>

Amidst several sketches, paintings, and etchings of Wagnerian scenes, Fortuny returned again to *Parsifal* years after the 'Odoriferous Spirits' to depict Kundry – the exotic chief seductress in Klingsor's enchanted garden. (Plate 49) He shows her completely surrounded, almost suffocated, by fluffy, peachy-pink and coral blossoms. The painting seems composed as if the scene is covered by a flat transparent surface – the blooms pressed open against an invisible pane, like the wrinkled fabrics pressed into Fortuny's mysterious photographic paper. The folds of the pink petals stretch open to reveal the flowers' stamens, emphasising and echoing the sexuality of the figure they adorn. But like Baudelaire's 'unhealthy flowers', these blossoms are dangerous – they are

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<sup>31</sup> *Parsifal* Act II, Scene 2. Wagner's stage directions.

<sup>32</sup> Franzini. 'Pittura, luce, teatro. Influenza e presenza di Wagner in Fortuny'. 76. Fortuny's painting of the flower maidens won a gold medal at the VII International Kunstausstellung, Munich.

<sup>33</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. II translated in the Moncreiff editions as 'Within a Budding Grove' instead of the more literal translation, 'In the Shadow of Young Girls in Flower' which is used in the newer Penguin edition.

<sup>34</sup> Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 182-183.

meant to ensnare the namesake protagonist Parsifal. Furthermore, some felt that Wagner himself was the seducer infecting audiences with intoxicating sensuality: an unhealthy, contagious eroticism.

In addition to the wave of artists who were enthralled and inspired by Wagner and his work, several others condemned both as licentious and sickening. In mid-19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe, following the increased prevalence of medical research and discourse, previously unnamed behaviours began to be diagnosed. Hardly any area of culture escaped medicalization. As Dreyfus has described in the ‘Pathologies’ chapter of his *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*, it would not have been unusual to believe that ‘Disease lurked everywhere, according to the latest science, even in inanimate objects such as pieces of music.’<sup>35</sup> Now (on the other side of the Third Reich’s appropriation of Wagner), though it would seem anti-Semitism was Wagner’s primary sickness,<sup>36</sup> in his own day and well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century the extreme eroticism in Wagner’s music was interpreted as a disease: an ‘erotomania’ – the same diagnosis de Clérambault pronounced over his silk-craving female patients. After a few years of observational study, de Clérambault presented his findings in a paper entitled, ‘Passion érotique des étoffes chez la femme’ (‘Women’s Erotic Passion for Fabric’) in 1908.<sup>37</sup> His patients suffered from a combination of erotomania and kleptomania, as they derived autoerotic pleasure from stealing silk, rubbing it between their thighs, and pressing it onto themselves. Similarly, Wagner wore silk underwear not only to ease his delicate skin, but also to stimulate his writing, which he often claimed to do in a state of arousal.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Dreyfus. ‘Pathologies’. *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*. 117-174. 118.

<sup>36</sup> Dreyfus notes that at this point in history people found Wagner’s eroticism more offensive than his anti-Semitism. *Ibid.* 117. This thesis does not consider the obvious and/or more conspicuous anti-Semitism in Wagner’s writing, personal life, or musical work. This has already brilliantly been done in the last 30 years of scholarship on Wagner by Barry Millington and Paul Lawrence Rose (amongst others), and is being continued in increasingly nuanced ways in the field of musicology. For a clear and timely introduction to this aspect of Wagner, see: Millington. ‘The Grit in the Oyster: The Role of Anti-Semitism in Wagner’s Life and Work’. *The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. 183-191.

<sup>37</sup> I use the term ‘erotomania’ or, at times, more specifically ‘silk erotomania’ following Peta Allen Shera’s etymological synthesis of de Clérambault’s phrases ‘délire du toucher’ and ‘passion de la soie’. Shera. ‘Selfish Passions and Artificial Desire: Rereading Clérambault’s Study of “Silk Erotomania”’. *Journal of the History of Sexuality*. Vol. 18. No. 1. (January 2009) 158-179. 163. See also: 160-162.

<sup>38</sup> Especially *Tannhäuser*. See: Dreyfus. *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*. 51-52. 77. On Wagner’s silk underpants see: Millington. *The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. 152-153.

In late 19<sup>th</sup>-/early 20<sup>th</sup>-century women's fashion, as well as for Wagner himself, silk was a material used for health reasons but concurrently it was also a fabric that lent itself to fetishism, deviant eroticism, and diagnoses of mental illness. Unstructured silk gowns, like Fortuny's, were considered more hygienic than thick, layered and corseted dresses; and for Wagner, who suffered a skin condition, silk was a somewhat of a cure. However, the unusually intense desire for silk was classified as a disease when de Clérambault diagnosed some Parisian women with erotomania. The pathology of silk encompassed its smell and sound, in addition to its tactile qualities. De Clérambault's patients would speak of 'the cry of the silk'.<sup>39</sup> Wagner himself was accused of a similar sort of fetishisation of silk satins, and the music he composed while swathed in pink satins was said to incite erotic hysteria. The German writer Thomas Mann said one could not 'fail to notice the rustle of satin in Wagner's work'.<sup>40</sup> The symptoms of these unhealthy longings for silk pervaded the senses: a desire to touch; being lured by its sound and smell; being blinded by its reflective surface.

Like Fortuny's fabrics – as used in upholstery, fashion, and his mysterious contact prints – silk is sensual and beautiful, but sometimes also damp, odorous, and abject. Though it is unknown whether the mounds of damp fabric pressed into his lightless contact prints were actually of silk, it is not completely unlikely. Photographers had written on the uses of silk in the darkroom, especially in bromide printing (similar chemistry to the process I have suggested Fortuny used) for which it was recommended to try projecting light through the negative, and then through silk before it reached sensitized paper.<sup>41</sup> The silk would soften the image and 'when prints so made are given a sepia tone they have the appearance of rare old etchings'.<sup>42</sup> Kodak even sold silk for this purpose, available in fine, medium, and coarse mesh.<sup>43</sup> Though some of Fortuny's contact prints seem to show a coarser texture than silk, especially Fig. 96 with a visible shirt cuff

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<sup>39</sup> A film based on de Clérambault's life is named after this phrase, Yvon Marciano 'Le Cri de la Soie'. 1996.

<sup>40</sup> Quoted in Barry Millington. *Richard Wagner: The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. (London: Thames & Hudson) 2012. 148. I am grateful to Barry Millington for sending me the source of this quote from Thomas Mann's *Leiden und Grösse Richard Wagners*. Written in 1933 on the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Wagner's death. See also: Thomas Mann. 'Sufferings and Greatness of Richard Wagner'. *Essays of Three Decades*. Trans. H.T. Lowe-Porter. (London: Secker and Warburg) 1947. 307-352. 343.

<sup>41</sup> Schriever. 'Bromide Enlarging – Detailed Instructions'. Chapter XXXII. *Complete Self-Instructing Library of Practical Photography*. Vol. V, Part II. 237-251. 249-250.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.* 250.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* 250.

in the top left corner, it is likely that with the experimental nature of this endeavour that he played with pressing different fabrics into his sensitized gelatine. Figs. 94 and 98b appear to be more delicate textiles like silk.

As mentioned in ‘Pleated Time’,<sup>44</sup> dress reformers promoted the use of silk because of its hygienic benefits: a natural fibre that is more germ and dust resistant; wicking in warm humidity; and insulating in cold weather.<sup>45</sup> Newly conceived department stores, like the fictional one chronicled in Émile Zola’s *Au Bonheur des dames* (*The Ladies’ Paradise*, 1883), filled their rooms with ostentatious displays of these silks meant to entice customers.<sup>46</sup> Fortuny’s fabrics were sold at Liberty, a large fabric and costume shop opened in 1875 in London, very similar to Zola’s set in Paris.<sup>47</sup> In *The Ladies’ Paradise*,<sup>48</sup> swathes of exotic silks were set out for women to fondle as they contemplated purchasing: shopping was tactile as well as visual. Zola’s description of the silk department emphasizes the sensuality of the scene; the temptation, as it builds, is a sexual one:

At first stood out the light satins and tender silks, the satins *à la Reine* and Renaissance, with the pearly tones of spring water; light silks, transparent as crystals – Nile-green, Indian-azure, May-rose, and Danube-blue. Then came the stronger fabrics: marvellous satins, duchess silks, warm tints, rolling in great waves; and right at the bottom, as in a fountain-basin, reposed the heavy stuffs, the figured silks, the damasks, brocades, and lovely silvered silks in the midst of a deep bed of velvet of every sort – black, white, and coloured – skilfully disposed on silk and satin grounds, hollowing out with their medley of colours a still lake in which the reflex of the sky seemed to be dancing. The women, pale with desire, bent over as it to look at themselves. And before this falling cataract they all remained standing, with the secret fear of being carried away by the irruption of such luxury, and with the irresistible desire to jump in amidst it and be lost.<sup>49</sup>

Zola uses watery metaphors akin to lovemaking to emphasize the eroticism of the display: beginning with cool, light, tender, and transparent silks; then on to the warm, ‘stronger fabrics’, the implied rhythm of rolling waves, and the ‘deep bed of velvet’; and

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<sup>44</sup> ‘Pleated Time’. 103-104.

<sup>45</sup> Schoeser. *Silk*. 155-156, 161-163.

<sup>46</sup> Émile Zola. *The Ladies’ Paradise*. (Berkeley: University of Chicago Press) 1992.

<sup>47</sup> Deschodt. *The Magician of Venice*. 79.

<sup>48</sup> The book’s title is also the name of the store.

<sup>49</sup> Zola. *The Ladies’ Paradise*. 93.

ending in the envelopment of jumping into the still lake with a final relinquishing of self. These ‘women, pale with desire,’ that Zola describes sound much like de Clérambault’s patients, especially as they are depicted in the film ‘Le Cri de la Soie’ (1996) directed by Yvon Marciano, and in the novel ‘The Tiller of Waters’ (2000) by Lebanese novelist Hoda Barakat.<sup>50</sup> (Fig. 100) In Marciano’s film, Dr. Gabriel de Villemer, the central character based upon de Clérambault, is shown studying silk fabrics through photographs and small pleated samples that happen to both be by Fortuny.<sup>51</sup> (Figs. 101, 102) He meets a beautiful young seamstress after she has been arrested for stealing silk from a Parisian department store. He interviews and studies his new patient’s obsession with fabric before bringing her back to the scene of the crime to see if she will succumb again. (Fig. 103) After leaving her unsupervised, Dr. de Villemer finds the seamstress on the showroom floor, surrounded by a crowd of onlookers, with the silk beneath her skirt, writhing in pleasure. In a similarly scandalous scene, one of the regular customers at The Ladies’ Paradise, Countess de Boves, succumbs to her temptation and is caught stealing from the store. The Countess was ‘ravaged by a furious, irresistible passion for dress. These fits got worse, growing daily, [...]’.<sup>52</sup> Though Zola describes Countess de Boves’ kleptomania in sensual terms, he does not describe the physical, sexually intimate touch that excited de Clérambault’s/de Villemer’s patients. After a moment of intimacy between them, de Villemer attempts to ‘correct’ his patient’s lovemaking by attempting penetration. She instead places silk between their bodies, like Proust’s narrator whose most erotic moments with Albertine are lying against her sleeping body as he ‘gently oscillate[s] like the intermittent wing-beat of a bird’.<sup>53</sup> These acts are more akin to the pressing of Fortuny’s damp silk into sensitized paper than the penetrative light that shines

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<sup>50</sup> ‘Le Cri de la Soie’ (‘The Cry of Silk’) directed by Yvon Marciano, written by Yvon Marciano and Jean-François Goyet. (France, Belgium)1996; Hoda Barakat. *The Tiller of Waters*. Trans. Marilyn Booth. (Cairo, New York: The American University in Cairo Press) 2001. The novel was written in 1998 and after winning the Naguib Mahfouz Medal for Literature (2000) for the ‘best contemporary novel published in Arabic (but not yet in English) [was] subsequently translated and published in an English-language edition by the AUC [American University Press] in Cairo, New York, and London.’ See: < [http://www.aucpress.com/t-nmmdescription.aspx?template=template\\_naguibmahfouz](http://www.aucpress.com/t-nmmdescription.aspx?template=template_naguibmahfouz)>

<sup>51</sup> I have found no evidence that de Clérambault either did or did not study Fortuny’s silks, but it is not impossible. The choices in set design for the film show a knowledge of Fortuny. Not only are Fortuny’s photographs and silk samples used, but his dome lamps are also placed in the Dr. de Villemer’s drapery studio.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* 374.

<sup>53</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V. 87; Bal. *The Mottled Screen*. 165.

through negatives. In terms of Italian textiles, their erotics are silk, not lace: smooth and rolling, not pricking – ‘*punto in aria*’ (‘stitch in air’), as lace is called in Italy.<sup>54</sup> Barthes found that photographs could prick him; that an ‘element [...] shoots out of it like an arrow, and pierces me.’<sup>55</sup> He names it ‘*punctum*’: that thing in a photograph that ‘wounds’, makes a ‘sting, speck, cut, little-hole’.<sup>56</sup> For Barthes, what is ‘poignant’ seems to penetrate.<sup>57</sup> William Henry Fox Talbot made a contact print with a piece of lace in 1845, allowing the sun to shine through the open structure of the delicate fabric.<sup>58</sup> (Fig. 104) In contrast to the lightness and clarity of Talbot’s photogram of lace, Fortuny’s contact prints of silk are abstract and pressed in darkness. The deviant, silken, pressing, punctumless lovemaking of Proust’s narrator and the silk erotomaniacs echoes Fortuny’s dark, silken, pressing, punctumless photographs.

In *The Tiller of Waters*, Barakat, summarizes de Clérambault’s theories on women with silk erotomania as the narrator finds out his mother (Athena) suffers this addiction. The narrator, named Niqula Mitri, speaks from the end of the story after both parents are dead and the love interest has fled. Niqula runs to his father’s old cloth shop for shelter during the Lebanese civil war to find it looted and half-demolished. The bombed-out textile store provokes fabric-filled, layered memories. With Proust-like jumps between childhood and adolescent memories, tales from his father’s time, historic anthropology in the Middle East, and fearful wartime hallucinations, the narrator uses textiles to thematically fold together these reminiscences. Niqula remembers his father telling him, ‘There are women of silk... your mother... she is a woman of silk. When you’re older, you will understand.’<sup>59</sup> His mother’s American music teacher, whom the narrator has seen her kiss, comes to tell his father that this problem the woman they both love is suffering from has been written about by Dr. Clérambault.<sup>60</sup> Demonstrating Barakat’s research on de Clérambault, the music teacher describes an attack:

Before she steals silk, a woman with a condition like  
Athena’s gets a sharp cramping in her abdomen, at once  
agonizing and pleasurable, and always out of her control.

<sup>54</sup> Barakat writes beautifully on lace and Venice. *The Tiller of Waters*. 99, 112-113.

<sup>55</sup> Barthes. *Camera Lucida*. 26.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.* 27.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> William Henry Fox Talbot. ‘Lace’. Salted paper print (photogram), 1845. Museum of Modern Art, New York.

<sup>59</sup> Barakat. *The Tiller of Waters*. 3.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.* 159-161.

Her eyes become glazed with a layer of pain- it is pain and pleasure together when she sees silk, a great robe of silk, but she craves just a little piece of it. [...] She doesn't have the strength to rip silk because she hears its scream / ... all of these women speak about the cry of silk, and none can bear it. [...] They do hear the cry of silk, its voices, when they finger and hold it, even when they approach it, as if they do not understand what it is, as if it is not fabric made of thread....<sup>61</sup>

This silk erotomania permeates not only visually and haptically, but aurally as well. Silk's sound, albeit not a cry, is audible even to those not suffering de Clérambault's syndrome. In *The Ladies' Paradise*, the humble young shop girl Denise feels uncomfortable in her silk dress – the uniform for workers in the ready-made department.<sup>62</sup> 'When she went downstairs again, dressed up, uncomfortable, she looked at the shining skirt, feeling ashamed of the noisy rustling of the silk.'<sup>63</sup> As opposed to the girls in the other departments who wore wool, the silk-clad workers had scandalous reputations, coinciding with de Clérambault's idea that wearing silk excites sexual desire in women.<sup>64</sup> This moralistic dualism of wool and silk was also perpetuated in Fascist Italy. An Italian journalist writes in 1941:

Silk is fatuous, sinful, sensual. When I was a boy I remember I used to love shiny ladies, their cleavage showing, [...]. I began to prefer wool: wool, less sophisticated, more familiar, more trustworthy. Now I love wool, it's warm, affectionate, chaste.<sup>65</sup>

As we have seen in 'Pleated Time', in Fascist Italy silk was not only seen as sensual, but as wasteful and unnecessarily luxurious – yet Fortuny continued to use this unique and delicate fabric.<sup>66</sup>

Though de Clérambault insisted that inordinate desire for and pleasure from silk was a feminine illness,<sup>67</sup> Barakat's fictional narrator (Niquila) and Wagner himself display

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<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* 161-162.

<sup>62</sup> Zola. *The Ladies' Paradise*. 79, 122.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.* 79.

<sup>64</sup> Shera. 'Selfish Passions and Artificial Desires'. 161.

<sup>65</sup> Diego Calcagno. 'Segreti e miracoli della lana di coniglio'. *Bellezza* (September, February, March) 1941; as quoted in Paulicelli. *Fashion under Fascism*. 67.

<sup>66</sup> 'Pleated Time' 109.

<sup>67</sup> Emily Apter. 'Splitting Hairs: Female Fetishism and Postpartum Sentimentality in Maupassant's Fiction'. *Feminizing the Fetish: Psychoanalysis and Narrative Obsession in Turn-of-the-Century France*. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press) 1991. 99-123. 106-107. Doy. *Drapery*. 109-132. Shera. 'Selfish Passions and Artificial Desire'. 162.



some of these symptoms. Niqula reminisces that he, like de Clérambault's patients, would rub the fabrics and listen to them.<sup>68</sup> He says that 'spurred on by an irresistible ecstasy' he would unfurl long swathes of cloth and strip naked before enveloping himself in them: 'I would spend an entire night shrouded in each one. I would breathe in its fragrance and hear its rustle from inside; I would press it against my skin, against every part of my body [...].'<sup>69</sup> However, instead of deriving erotic pleasure from this contact, Niqula says he was attempting to 'resuscitate' or 're-read' his past, activating dormant memories held in each textile.<sup>70</sup>

Wagner's alibi for his own excessive need to have silk pressed upon his skin was to assuage the symptoms of his erysipelas.<sup>71</sup> One of Wagner's close friends, Ferdinand Praeger, insisted that it was the physical suffering of this skin disease that caused the composer to be infamously cantankerous and ill-tempered.<sup>72</sup> Praeger also recalled a London tailor who was shocked to hear Wagner's insistence that his entire order, including the unseen elements like the sleeve linings and the back of a vest, be made of silk.<sup>73</sup> Praeger continues his defence of his composer friend's prodigious use of silk: 'Wagner could not endure the touch of cotton, as it produced a shuddering sensation throughout the body that distressed him'.<sup>74</sup> Choosing clothing in light of his health issues, Wagner decried culturally popular styles as 'unnatural' and associated fashion with sickness.<sup>75</sup> However, in private correspondence, Wagner took pains to sketch and describe specific details of the colours and trimmings for his commissioned silk robes, trousers, and underpants.<sup>76</sup> A letter to his dressmaker reveals that Wagner was quite particular about the exact shades of his silks: 'Do not confound No.2, the dark pink, with the old violet pink, which is not what I mean, but real pink, only very dark and fiery.'<sup>77</sup> In

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<sup>68</sup> Barakat. *The Tiller of Waters*. 38.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* 35.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* 35-36.

<sup>71</sup> I am grateful for Dan Elphick for introducing me to this issue and to Barry Millington for further information.

<sup>72</sup> Ferdinand Praeger. *Wagner as I Knew Him*. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co.) 1892. Accessed via <<http://www.archive.org/stream/cu31924022354199>>. 251-252.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* 252.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> Wagner. *The Art-Work of the Future*. 14.

<sup>76</sup> However, a journalist would later publish these letters (in Wagner's lifetime), much to the embarrassment of the composer. See: Millington. *The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. 148-153.

<sup>77</sup> This is from one of the sixteen letters from Wagner to his dressmaker that were published in the *Neue Freie Press* after being sold in 1877; quoted by Henry Theophilus

his 1901 book on Wagner, Henry Theophilus Finck suggested that even beyond aiding his skin sensitivity, Wagner's silks and their varied colours helped to inspire his creative work.<sup>78</sup> Finck repeats a '[r]umor [...] that he altered the color of his surroundings and dress in accordance with the nature of the operatic scene he was at work upon,' and then explains how unsurprising this should be:<sup>79</sup> 'Moreover, a psychologist would expect that a man who had an ear for delicate shades of orchestral sounds such as no mortal ever had, would be correspondingly refined and dainty in his color perceptions [...].'<sup>80</sup> This synesthetic intimation – that one could hear colour – is central to Wagner's conception of *Gesamtkunstwerk* and it is not unlike Mann's comment that one can hear 'the rustle of satin' in Wagner's works.<sup>81</sup> Though the veracity of Finck's rumour is suspect – that Wagner changed his décor and dress according to what he was writing/composing – it is true that in addition to ordering satin curtains and valences for his Munich home, he also had his walls and ceilings lined in silk and satin.<sup>82</sup>

As he wrote in his autobiography, even from a young age, Wagner was excited by fabrics.<sup>83</sup> More specifically he says, 'the more delicate costumes of my sisters that exerted a more stirring effect on my imagination: just touching these objects could cause my heart to beat wildly.'<sup>84</sup> Immediately following this admission, Wagner comments that the feminine environment in which he was raised must have affected his temperament.<sup>85</sup> Correspondence from 1869-1874 shows that Wagner was ordering women's velvet cloaks and satin bodiced dresses and undergowns for himself.<sup>86</sup> These habits were counted as evidence of Wagner's mental illness to those who saw him as morally deficient.<sup>87</sup> For

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Finck. *Wagner and His Works: The Critical Story of His Life with Critical Comments* Vol. II. (Honolulu, Hawaii: University Press of the Pacific) 2004 facsimile of 1901 edition. 193.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* 194; 194-196.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* 195.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* 195.

<sup>81</sup> See footnote 8.

<sup>82</sup> Millington. *The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. 151.

<sup>83</sup> Wagner says he 'applied himself with great enthusiasm in the production of costumes'. Richard Wagner. *My Life*. Trans. Andrew Grey. Ed. Mary Whittall. (Cambridge) 1983. 13-14; quoted in *Ibid.* 13.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.* 155.

<sup>87</sup> Dreyfus. *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*. 34.

example, Nietzsche, whose once ardent admiration for the composer had turned to disgust, took this line of thought in 'The Case of Wagner' (1888).<sup>88</sup>

Beyond his prodigious use of silk for wear and bedecking his abode,<sup>89</sup> it was the wild eroticism in Wagner's operas that provided the most damning evidence for his diagnosis. Nietzsche not only calls Wagner himself a 'neurosis' in the 'The Case of Wagner', he also says 'Wagner's art is sick'.<sup>90</sup> Munich psychiatrist Theodor Puschmann's *Richard Wagner: eine psychiatrische Studie* (1873) characterises Wagner as diseased with erotic obsession, having 'delusions of grandeur' and overall 'moral insanity'.<sup>91</sup> Puschmann's widely read pamphlet cites amoral erotics in Wagner's operas, such as adultery in *Tristan und Isolde* and incest in *Die Walküre*.<sup>92</sup> The doctor pronounces Wagner as mentally ill and shows concern for the health of his audience, whom Puschmann believes to be at risk for moral infection.<sup>93</sup>

Before enthusiasm for Wagnerian opera became more widespread at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, those who did confess to enjoying it were derided. In *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*, Dreyfus examines a sampling of late 19<sup>th</sup>- and early 20<sup>th</sup>-century reactions to the sensuality of Wagner's music and how eventually, the dialogue evolved into a diagnosis: Wagner as a depraved fetishist and his admirers as hysterics.<sup>94</sup> Men were condemned as effeminate and women were described as hysterics 'who need this galvanic stimulation by massive instrumental treatment to throw their pleasure-weary frog-legs into violent convulsion.'<sup>95</sup> This description echoes the erotomania of de Clérambault's patients and even the electro-shock treatment given to women diagnosed with hysteria at the Salpêtrière School by Jean-Martin Charcot.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche. 'The Case of Wagner'. *Basic Writings of Nietzsche*. Trans. Walter Kaufmann. (New York: Modern Library) 1967, 2000. 601-654. 622. Also quoted in Dreyfus. *Ibid.* 124-135.

<sup>89</sup> Millington. *The Sorcerer of Bayreuth*. 151.

<sup>90</sup> Nietzsche. 'The Case of Wagner'. 622. Also quoted in Dreyfus. *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*. 124-125.

<sup>91</sup> Puschmann. *Richard Wagner: eine psychiatrische Studie*. (Berlin, 1873) 31; quoted in Dreyfus. *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*. 119-121.

<sup>92</sup> Puschmann. *Ibid.* 59-60; quoted in Dreyfus. *Ibid.* 120.

<sup>93</sup> Puschmann. *Ibid.* 61; quoted in Dreyfus. *Ibid.* 120.

<sup>94</sup> This does not summarize the entirety of Dreyfus' intriguing project.

<sup>95</sup> H.L. Klein. *Geschichte de Dramas*. (Leipzig, 1871), vol. 8, 738-739 as cited in Nicholas Slonimsky. *Lexicon of Musical Invective*. (New York, 1953) 237; quoted in Dreyfus. *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*. 34.

<sup>96</sup> Jean-Martin Charcot (1825-1893). Mavor. 'Odor di Femina'.

The sensuality of Wagner's operas, not only in the often sexually-driven plots, visual stage directions, and suggestive lyrics, but also especially the aural erotics, caused many to condemn the works, the composer, and his devotees.<sup>97</sup> Max Kalbeck (1850-1921), a biographer of Brahms, speaks of Wagnerian opera as an 'oppressive perfume' that intoxicates the senses.<sup>98</sup> In her 1911 article, 'The Religious and Moral Status of Wagner', Vernon Lee (1856-1935) pejoratively called Wagner a 'wizard'.<sup>99</sup> She says, 'The music quivers and throbs and droops and dissolves and reels and dies; the music imitates what no words have ever imitated... the languors and orgasms within the human being.'<sup>100</sup> Wagner himself did claim to have written *Tannhäuser* 'in a state of all-consuming and lascivious arousal'.<sup>101</sup> Nietzsche calls Wagner's music that provokes sensuality but 'withholds satisfaction'<sup>102</sup> a 'nauseating sexuality'.<sup>103</sup>

In his 1888 essay 'Why I am So Clever', Nietzsche said that Wagner had been his 'hashish'.<sup>104</sup> Proust repeats this idea of Wagner's music as a hysteria inciting drug in his

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<sup>97</sup> Dreyfus shows the mechanics of how music can be erotic: 'Music can, for example, suggest (1) gender as well as bodily position through high and low instruments and their tessituras, (2) the desirable drawing out of an erotic encounter through harmonic prolongation, or (3) the intertwining of bodies through melodic combinations and invertible counterpoint, (4) the curves of bodies or the act of touching them through melodic contour, (5) the sensations of bodily texture through the timbre of various instruments, (6) the thwarting and fulfilment of desires through chromatic voice-leading, (7) the alternating stages of lovemaking through cadential deceptions, (8) the sense of breathlessness through repeated rhythmic patterns, (10) the sensation of shivering through string tremolos, (11) the heightening of pleasure through dynamic crescendos, (12) the allusion to erotically charged animal sounds (nightingales, doves, fauns) through instruments symbolizing these associations, and (13) the enactment of sexual climaxes through tonal closure and percussive explosions.' Dreyfus adds that the list could even be furthered. He expounds with specific references to Wagnerian composition in chapter 3. Dreyfus. *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*. 12.

<sup>98</sup> Max Kalbeck. 'Richard Wagners Nibelungen: Erste Aufführung vom 13. Bis 17. August 1876 in Bayreuth' *Schlesische Zeitung* (1876; Breslau, 1883); quoted in Dreyfus. *Wagner and the Erotic Impulse*. 4.

<sup>99</sup> The pseudonym of Violet Page.

<sup>100</sup> Vernon Lee. 'The Religious and Moral Status of Wagner'. *Fortnightly Review*. (1911) 868-886, esp. 868, 872-873, 879; quoted in Dreyfus. *Ibid.* 6.

<sup>101</sup> Richard Wagner. *Dichtungen und Schriften: Jubiläumsausgabe*. Ed Dieter Borchmeyer, 10 vols. (Bayreuth, 1983). 253; quoted in Dreyfus. *Ibid.* 52.

<sup>102</sup> Dreyfus. *Ibid.* 125.

<sup>103</sup> Letter to Malwida von Meysenbug. 20 Oct. 1888. 'Friedrich Nietzsche. *Briefwechsel: Kritische Gesamtausgabe* ed. Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari. (Berlin 1981), vol. III.6, 330 and vol. III.5, 458-459; quoted in Dreyfus. *Ibid.* 125

<sup>104</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche. 'Why I am So Clever'. *Ecce Homo*. Trans. R.J. Hollingdale. (London: Penguin Books) 1992. 31.

story ‘Mélancolique villégiature de Madame de Breyves’, published in *La Revue blanche* in 1893, just two months after he saw *Die Walküre* in Paris.<sup>105</sup> The title character hears a musical phrase of Wagner’s – a ‘leitmotiv’ – that calls to mind the object of her affection<sup>106</sup> (much like Charles Swann experiences in the first volume of *À la recherche du temps perdu* when he hears what has become his and Odette’s ‘anthem’ of love). It is to Mme. De Breyves, ‘a music more supernaturally intoxicated than all ecstasy, spasms, caresses and happiness,’ and it becomes ‘the hashish which she could not do without.’<sup>107</sup> In volume V of *À la recherche*, the narrator notices the likeness between *Tristan* and Vinteuil’s sonata and says that he could never renounce Wagner, as Nietzsche did:

In admiring the Bayreuth master, I had none of the scruples of those who, like Nietzsche, are bidden by a sense of duty to shun in art as in life the beauty that tempts them, [...], tearing themselves from *Tristan* as they renounce *Parsifal*, [...], in their spiritual asceticism [...].<sup>108</sup>

Even amidst his repetitive condemnations, Nietzsche could not help but admire the sickening decadence of *Tristan*, saying that it had no equal, and that: ‘The world is poor for him who has never been sick enough for this “voluptuousness of hell”’.<sup>109</sup> Wagner’s *Tristan und Isolde*, the story of doomed lovers that resolves in joint suicide, was considered especially dangerous. In Thomas Mann’s 1903 novella *Tristan*, patients in a sanatorium play the prelude with the famed ‘Tristan chord’ with its strange ascending chromatic.<sup>110</sup> Mann had also linked insanity with Wagner’s *Tristan* in his 1902 novel *Buddenbrooks* when the parish organist tries to refuse playing selections from the opera transcribed for piano: ‘That is not music – believe me! [...] this is chaos. This is demagogy, blasphemy, insanity, madness! It is a perfumed fog, shot through with lightning!’<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Proust also quotes directly from *Die Walküre* in this story. Marcel Proust. ‘Mélancolique villégiature de Madame de Breyves’ *La Revue blanche*. 15 September 1893. Accessed via Bibliothèque nationale de France. <<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k15526f>> 155-170. 164-165. Tadié. *Marcel Proust*. 165, 815 footnote 164.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Proust. ‘Mélancolique villégiature de Madame de Breyves’. My translation.

<sup>108</sup> Proust. *In Search of Lost Time*. Vol. V. 205.

<sup>109</sup> Friedrich Nietzsche. *Ecce Homo*. Trans. R.J. Hollingdale. (London: Penguin Books) 1992 [this trans. 1979; Nietzsche 1888] 31.

<sup>110</sup> Dreyfus. *Ibid.* 32. On the ‘Tristan chord’ see: *Ibid.* 101-102, 105.

<sup>111</sup> Thomas Mann. *Buddenbrooks: The Decline of a Family*. Trans. H.T. Lowe-Porter. (London: Vintage Books) 1999. 407.

For de Clérambault's patients as well as Wagner and his devotees, the overwhelming erotic longings urged on by waves of silk and of sound that permeated the senses were diagnosed as symptoms of a disease of desire. According to de Clérambault these intense desires did not constitute a fetish, but merely its shadow.<sup>112</sup>

In his 1908 paper *Passion érotique des étoffes chez la femme*, de Clérambault claims his patients' silk erotomania is a 'shadow' of fetishism, but it is not 'the real thing', not the same as male fabric fetishism.<sup>113</sup> According to de Clérambault, men use fabric such as velvet or fur as a substitute for the missing lover, whereas these female patients use silk for physical pleasure without the visualisation of it standing in for something missing<sup>114</sup>: his female patients do not fantasize about anything other than the silk itself – its gleam, its touch, its sound, its smell. This, then, is not a 'true' fetishism because the cloth is not a representation, substitute, or symbol of someone or something as it is, for example, for Peter Stallybrass when he writes about wearing the jacket of his deceased friend: 'I was inhabited by his presence, taken over. If I wore the jacket, Allon wore me. He was there [...]'<sup>115</sup>

Though de Clérambault's differentiation between female erotomania and male fetishism is laced with misogyny, as argued by Apter, Copjec, Doy, and Shera, the idea of a 'shadow of fetishism' is useful for investigating the curious relationships with silk and photography that are more nuanced than one of substitution. De Clérambault's patients were not using silk to simulate the sexual pleasure of a partner, but rather for the stimulus of the silk itself. Despite being male, Wagner also had not used satins to conjure something specific, instead they aided his sensitivity to sensuality so he could reproduce those sensations in his operas.

A more fetishistic relation to cloth would be one that revives someone or something that is no longer there. According to Stallybrass, fabric has the ability to even bring back the dead:

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<sup>112</sup> de Clérambault. 'Passion érotique des étoffes chez la femme'. (Synthélabo, Le Plessis-Robinson) 1997. 71-72, 97. [written 1908]; quoted by Doy. *Drapery*. 109. Shera. 'Selfish Passions and Artificial Desire'. 168.

<sup>113</sup> de Clérambault *Passion Érotique des Etoffes chez la Femme*. Synthélabo, Le Plessis-Robinson, 1997. 71-72, 97; quoted in Doy. *Drapery*. 109.

<sup>114</sup> See: Gen Doy. *Drapery*. 109-132 and Shera. 'Selfish Passions and Artificial Desire'. 162. Barakat summarizes this point of de Clérambault's research through the same music teacher's dialogue with the narrator's father. *The Tiller of the Waters*. 162-163.

<sup>115</sup> Peter Stallybrass. 'Worn Worlds: Clothes, Mourning, and the Life of Things'. *The Yale Review*. 1993. Vol. 81. No. 2, 35-50. 36.

The magic of cloth, I came to believe, is that it receives us: receives our smells, our sweat, our shape even. And when our parents, our friends, our lovers die, the clothes in their closets still hang there, holding their gestures, both reassuring and terrifying, touching the living with the dead.<sup>116</sup>

Though it sounds much like Barthes' claim that the photograph is always phantasmagorically re-presenting the dead,<sup>117</sup> the worn cloth revives not only the image of someone, but their smell too. And though the haptical medium of photography displays the light that once touched that body, the touch of the clothes that were once on that body is much more intimate. It was perhaps for this reason that Proust's photographs of Madame Laure Hayman, that he used to incite his recollections of her to transcribe into the character of Odette, were bound in silk from one of her own dresses.<sup>118</sup> Similarly, in the film based on de Clérambault's life, 'La Cri de la Soie', the doctor's thousands of fetishistic photographs of draped figures are wrapped in blue silk.<sup>119</sup> (Fig. 105) For Zola's *Au Bonheur des Dames*, Edgar Degas (1834-1917) suggested to a friend in publishing that the novel be published with small fabric samples so that readers could touch as they read along.<sup>120</sup> Fortuny's albums, full of photographic reproductions as inspiration for his silks and silk-velvets, were covered with his own printed fabric.

The eroticism of both silk and Wagnerian opera permeated the *Tristan* city and the work of the *Tristan* generation. Silk, Fortuny's preferred fabric, is arguably the most phantasmagoric fabric: the dramatic play of light on its surface; the half-aliveness of it being produced from the excretions of the silkworm; its closely-guarded, labour intensive production; and even its history as a form of currency. In early trade with the East, the secrecy of silk production was integral to its value.<sup>121</sup> Under the rule of Kublai Khan (1260-1294), paper money was backed by silk.<sup>122</sup>

Wagnerian opera, – its sensuality, its revivalism, its invoking and corresponding of the senses – inspired a generation of artists. Fortuny wielded his talents as a painter,

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<sup>116</sup> Stallybrass. 'Worn Worlds'. 36.

<sup>117</sup> Barthes. *Camera Lucida*. 9.

<sup>118</sup> 'Secret Spaces' 86. Brassai. *Proust in the Power of Photography*. 12.

<sup>119</sup> The film's interpretation may not be historically accurate.

<sup>120</sup> Doy. *Drapery*. 78 referencing D. Cooper's introduction to P. Valéry. *Degas, Manet, Morisot*. (New York: Pantheon Books) 1960. 84.

<sup>121</sup> Schoeser. *Silk*. 13.

<sup>122</sup> This currency was called *sichao*. *Ibid*. Referencing: Lien-sheng Yang. *Money and Credit in China: A Short History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, Harvard-Yenching Institute monograph series, 1952, vol. 12, 63.

a set designer, an inventor, a costume designer, and photographer to bring Wagnerian opera to fruition, according to the composer's intentions. While Fortuny's Wagnerism is a focusing lens through which he applied his art, Fortuny's painterly vision is the lens through which he conceived his art.

Fortuny continued to paint throughout his life and to approach work in all media through the outlook of painter, as evidenced by his sensitivity to light and colour. He thought of himself as firstly a painter. When summarising his life in a short autobiographical note, Fortuny calls himself a Spanish painter.<sup>123</sup> For this reason it may seem surprising that this area of his work has received the least attention both in current scholarship but also in this thesis. 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' has instead sought to identify Fortuny as a painter across the range of his work, following Deleuze's claim that an artist conceives from within their first/primary medium.<sup>124</sup> However, there is yet much critical work to be done on Fortuny's painting compositions, in watercolour, oil, and tempera: comparative analysis with his father's work; systematic study of his Wagnerian cycles; national identity in his original compositions and copies; and study of his stage paintings in comparison to other artists' set designs.

'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' has uncovered and utilized previously uncited writings by Fortuny, most notably his anti-military thoughts, and is the first piece of scholarship to transparently consider his relation to Italian Fascism with what little material evidence exists. This thesis is also the first to present Fortuny's experimental contact prints and his photographic study of clouds, as they lay unexamined in the archives. Where other examinations of Proust's use of Fortuny have centred on the naming of latter by the former in *À la recherche du temps perdu*, 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' has also compared their working environments and methods, showing them both to be obsessive resurrectors of the past. In addition to contributing to Proust scholarship, this thesis also adds to knowledge of Wagnerian performance, histories of which often exclude Fortuny. In the chronology of Wagnerian performance, Fortuny is often overshadowed by Appia, who is positioned at the forefront of set designers that used electric light for décor.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> Fortuny. 'Notes Biographiques Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo Peintre Espagnol'.

<sup>124</sup> Deleuze. 'What is the Creative Act?'

<sup>125</sup> This is with the exception of the inclusion of Barón-Nusbaum's 'Forgotten Wizard: The Scenographic Innovations of Mariano Fortuny' in *Theatre, Performance and*



Though most scholarship on Fortuny is occupied with his fashion and textile designs, 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' has read them through the metaphor of pleated time to better understand Fortuny's revivalism. This reading is also a contribution to fashion history, offering a method for interpreting fashion that runs against the grain of incessantly regular, progressing chronology as controlled by the system of fashion.

'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' has found Fortuny's sense of time to be very much like Proustian time, Wagnerian time, phantasmagoric time, and pleated time in that he revives ghosts of the past. He folds together the past and present like the famously Wagnerian *leitmotiv* structure, where remembrances are orchestrated through reoccurring themes. Fortuny's oeuvre and Proust's novel are filled with these orchestrated moments of remembrance.

This thesis has read Fortuny and his work in a non-linear way. Though roughly divided by the media in which he worked, as has been done more explicitly in most other writing on this intriguing polymath, 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' has traced thematic *leitmotifs* throughout these sections. This structure was inspired by Fortuny himself, who conceived his designs and inventions with a wildly historical eye, irrespective of media. His work was not segmented: the influence of Wagner, his training as a painter, and his historical appetite are infused throughout. 'Reviving Fortuny's Phantasmagorias' has strived to echo Fortuny's non-linearity to better follow these reoccurring *leitmotifs*. As the 'Magician of Venice', his secrets have not been revealed, *per se*, but this thesis has focused an analytic eye over Fortuny's work to hopefully yield greater knowledge and appreciation for his historically-inspired, inventive, and varied body of work.



Fig. 1 Printed velvet Fortuny cloak at Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Peter Collier.



Fig. 2 Mariano Fortuny. *Bayreuth Theatre model*. 1903. Palazzo Fortuny.  
Photo Zeke Smith.

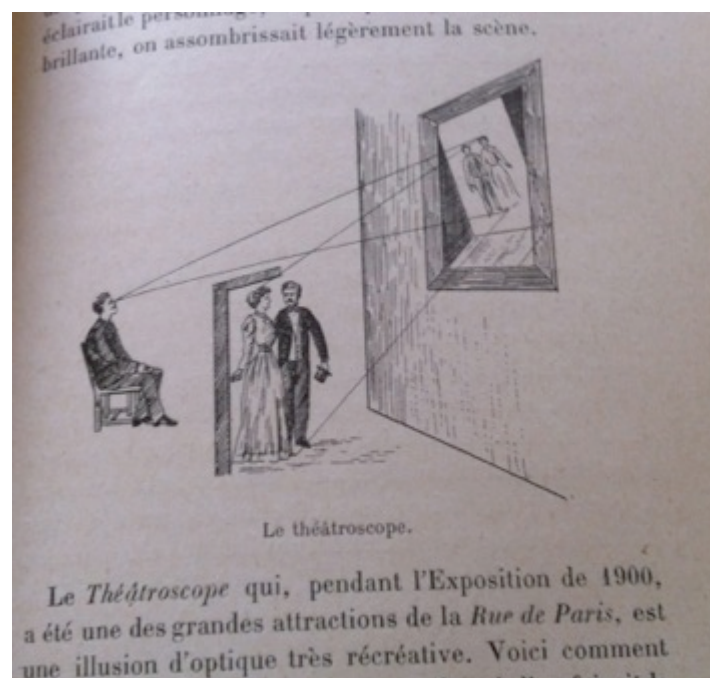


Fig. 3a (top left), 3b (top right), 3c (bottom) Illustrations from Alfred de Vulabellé and Charles Hémarandinquer. *La Science au Théâtre: étude sur les procédés scientifiques en usage dans le théâtre moderne*. (Paris: Henry Paulin et Cie éditeurs) 1908. Catalogued at Palazzo Fortuny as A10.29.





Fig. 4 Fortuny in his theatre model atelier (in front of the Bayreuth Model) in Palazzo Orfei c 1903.



Fig. 5 Cecilia and María Luisa in Palazzo Martinengo. Photograph by Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo.



Fig. 6 Left to right: María Luisa (sister) and Cecilia (mother) Madrazo in Palazzo Martinengo. Photo Mariano Fortuny



Fig. 7 Mariano and Cecilia in Palazzo Martinengo. Photographer unknown



Fig. 8 Federico (Coco) Madrazo photographed by Paul Nadar





Fig. 9 Isadora Duncan and dancers in front of Caryatid Porch of the Erechtheum, Acropolis. Photograph by Edward Steichen. Printed in Isadora Duncan. *My Life*. 1928. 373.



Fig. 10 Isadora Duncan in front of the Parthenon. 1920. Photograph by Edward Steichen. Printed in Isadora Duncan. *My Life*. 1928. 368



Fig. 11 Mariano Fortuny. *Teatro delle Feste* model.1912. Photo Zeke Smith.



Fig. 12 Mariano Fortuny. *Teatro delle Feste* model.1912. Photo Zeke Smith.





Fig. 13 Mariano Fortuny. *Teatro Delle Feste* model. 1912. Photo Zeke Smith.



Fig. 14 Exterior view of the Palazzo Fortuny façade facing Campo San Benedetto. Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.





Fig. 15 First floor atelier at Palazzo Orfei. Reproduced in Guillermo de Osma,. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.



Fig. 16a (top), 16b (bottom) Comparisons of Mariano Fortuny y Marsal's studio in Rome [top] and Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo's salon in Venice [bottom]. Reproduced in Guillermo de Osma, *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.





Fig. 17 Mariano Fortuny. Drawing for the decoration of the studio of Palazzo Orfei. Tempera and pastels on paper, pasted on cardboard. Undated.



Fig. 18 Studio of Mariano Fortuny at Palazzo Orfei (with mannequins for contemporary display). Reproduced in *Mariano Fortuny: la seta & il velluto*.



Fig. 19 Library of Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo on 2<sup>nd</sup> level of Palazzo Orfei



Fig. 20 Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo in his library at Palazzo Orfei





Fig. 21 Traces of the half-floor along the upper part of the wall on the second floor of Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Zeke Smith.

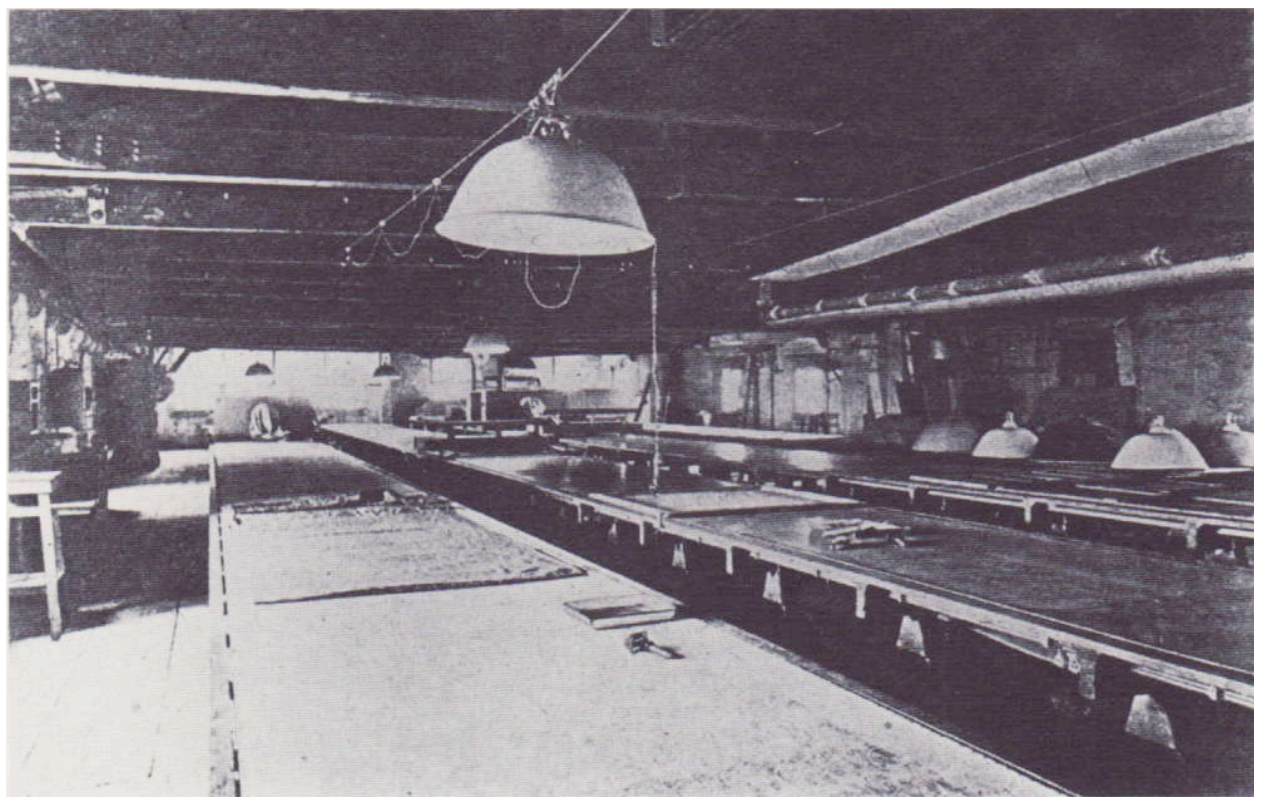


Fig. 22 Work tables on the top level of Palazzo Orfei while still in use.



Fig. 23 Top floor of Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Zeke Smith.





Fig. 24 Unfinished painting, scene in Morocco, by Mariano Fortuny y Marsal displayed in Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Zeke Smith.

Cependant Fortuny, dont le nom courait de bouche en bouche dans les ateliers parisiens, n'avait pas encore vu Paris; il y avait des relations personnelles et des relations d'affaires; la fréquentation des artistes de notre école moderne ne pouvait être pour lui chose indifférente, et, comme sa voie n'était pas encore bien déterminée, ce voyage pouvait avoir une grande influence sur son avenir. Il l'entreprit dans l'automne de 1866 et fréquenta quelques ateliers. Meissonier avait alors un petit groupe d'élèves aujourd'hui dispersés, notre artiste put profiter de l'enseignement de l'homme auquel on l'opposa depuis, sans aucune espèce de raison. Fortuny jusque-là était assez incohérent; il dessinait avec précision des morceaux, mais il n'était pas rare de le voir absolument renoncer à attaquer un membre, à le modeler, à l'attacher anatomiquement; le charme de l'ébauche suppléait souvent à l'insuffisance du dessin. Dans cet ordre-là, Meissonier avait beaucoup à lui apprendre, et on le vit serrer davantage son exécution. L'artiste trouva ici un autre enseignement assez inattendu, on lui mit dans les mains une collection à peu près complète de Gavarni et les riches lithographies, qui avaient été publiées dans le *Paris* de M. de Villedeuil; elles firent sur lui une très-grande impression. Déjà il possédait à fond l'œuvre de Goya, les *Caprices*, la *Tauromachie*, les *Désastres de la guerre*, les *Chevaux*, et les épreuves détachées, les *Sueltas*; il avait même des albums inédits du maître; il voulut étudier les procédés de l'eau-forte, et il publia neuf planches éditées par MM. Goupil, qui devaient plus tard être suivies de ~~quatorze autres~~, aujourd'hui terminées, mais restées inédites. Ces planches appartiennent à sa veuve, ~~et partie d'entre elles sont entre les mains de ses éditeurs.~~ (inexact).

A Paris, l'artiste travailla aussi chez M. Jérôme, qui lui avait cédé un de ses ateliers; il fit quelques études sur nature, entre autres celle qui a pour fond la porte de la Réserve au Cabinet des Estampes de Paris, origine de la toile les *Bibliophiles*; il fréquenta assidûment ses compatriotes Gisbert, Madrazo, Rico et Zamacois; mais c'est surtout pendant l'année 1868, lors de son voyage à Rome, que Zamacois vécut côte à côte avec son ami.

Nous n'avons pas la prétention de suivre exactement le peintre dans ses pérégrinations; il revint à Madrid, y séjourna assez longtemps, puis ayant noué des relations étroites avec la famille de son ami Madrazo, il épousa bientôt la fille du peintre de la cour, alors directeur du Musée royal de Madrid. Nous croyons que c'est à cette occasion, et par cette relation,

c'est idiot!  
c'était au  
contraire  
sa préoccupation  
constante.

19

1869-70  
un an

Fig. 25 'c'est idiot!' Annotation by Fortuny y Madrazo. Page from Charles Yriarte. *Les Artistes Célèbres: Fortuny*. (Paris: J. Rouam) 1886. Catalogued as A7.20.



muni d'un traité qui lui permettait de compter sur des revenus fixes, Fortuny revint à Rome, organisa sa maison, augmenta son atelier et commença d'importants travaux. C'est véritablement à cette époque que se rattache la constitution de ce cénacle hispano-italien, où on ne prononçait son nom qu'avec admiration. Les noms de la plupart de ceux qui le composèrent de 1866 à 1870 sont aujourd'hui connus de ceux qui s'occupent d'art; Fortuny en a représenté quelques-uns dans son *Faust de Gounod*. C'étaient Villegas, Rico, Jorris, Ferrandiz, Ximenez, Agrasso, Tapiro, etc. Les ateliers allemands furent un peu bouleversés, les disciples prudents et circonspects de l'ascétique Overbeck anathématisaient ce transfuge et ces Andalous qui osaient parler de lumière; d'atmosphère, de transparence des tons, de chatoiements des couleurs; ces fantaisistes brillants et sans traditions qui, au lieu de vivre dans l'Olympe ou dans la nébuleuse mythologie de Kaulbach et les ennuyeuses allégories de Cornélius, demandaient leur inspiration au soleil de Rome, à sa lumière, à sa campagne; prenaient leurs modèles dans la vie réelle et cherchaient même des procédés nouveaux pour peindre avec plus de transparence, plus de limpidité et d'éclat.

Cette période de 1866 à 1870 est la période d'éclat d'une existence trop courte. Il n'est que bien rarement question de la *Prise de Tétuan*; la toile est roulée, la municipalité de Barcelone, de temps en temps, demande à l'artiste ce que devient la commande; Fortuny répond d'une manière évasive: il s'est fait un nom dans une manière très différente, il a tout à perdre, et il semble qu'il ait peur. Un jour enfin il propose de rendre la somme qu'on lui a payée; on la refuse; il insiste pendant des années; quand on a bien compris qu'il n'exécutera jamais sa grande toile, on annule le contrat. Il est piquant d'apprendre que l'homme qui a vendu deux tableaux de 1<sup>m</sup>.40, 75,000 francs chacun, devait recevoir 6,000 francs de la ville de Barcelone pour cette composition qui mesurait 15 mètres de long sur 4 mètres de haut.

Ce ne sont pas les Espagnols seulement qui se groupent autour de Fortuny, son atelier est un de ceux qu'on visite le plus: de Boston, de Philadelphie, de Cuba, de New-York et de Chicago, on lui envoie des visiteurs qui font de la propagande à cette peinture brillante, curieuse, habile, et encore plus faite pour charmer les yeux que pour toucher le cœur. L'atelier lui-même est plein d'intérêt, c'est un cabinet d'amateur, un petit musée. Les murs nus lui font horreur. Fortuny couvre tout

*jamais été  
seule  
de Tablan a été  
ste communi  
pour 25,000 f.  
en 1870 la  
d'après le la  
vicaria reçoit  
se réunissent  
à la municipalité  
de Barcelone, Fortuny  
a qui on ne pouvait  
pas s'en aller  
venait une lettre  
sous le ton pour  
Fortuny a effrayé  
de recevoir les  
des comptes reçus.  
ce qu'il fit, la  
municipalité avertit de suite après l'annulation du contrat -  
reçu se proposant d'offrir pour la suite le  
Tableau a sa suite - a sa mort la municipalité  
paya immédiatement 50,000 fr le tableau  
qu'elle a aujourd'hui a Barcelone*

*Fortuny rendit les 19,000 fr qu'il avait  
reçu se proposant d'offrir pour la suite le  
Tableau a sa suite - a sa mort la municipalité  
paya immédiatement 50,000 fr le tableau  
qu'elle a aujourd'hui a Barcelone*

Fig. 26 Page from Charles Yriarte. *Les Artistes Célèbres: Fortuny*. (Paris: J. Rouam) 1886. Catalogued as A7.20. Annotated by Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo.



Fig. 27 All from the collection of Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo at Museo Fortuny (from left to right): *Cast of Death Mask of Ludwig van Beethoven*, Anonymous, 1827, gypsum; *Cast of Death Mask of Mariano Fortuny y Marsal*, Geronimo Suñol Pujol, 1874, gypsum; *Cast of Death Mask of Richard Wagner*, Augusto Benvenuti, 14 February 1883, gypsum. Photo Zeke Smith.



Fig. 28 The graves of Mariano Fortuny y Marsal, his wife (Cecilia), and children (María Luisa and Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo) at Campo Verano, Rome.





Fig. 29 (top), 30 (bottom) Film stills from Raúl Ruiz's *Le temps retrouvé, d'après l'oeuvre de Marcel Proust* [released in UK/USA as *Time Regained*] 1999.



Fig. 31a Benjamin's photographs, taken by Sasha Stone, 1 of 3 views of same room, used for his writing on 19<sup>th</sup>-century bourgeois interiors. Published in *Walter Benjamin's Archive: Images, Texts, Signs*.





Figs. 31b (top), 31c (bottom) Benjamin's photographs, taken by Sasha Stone, 2 of 3 views of same room, Published in *Walter Benjamin's Archive: Images, Texts, Signs*.

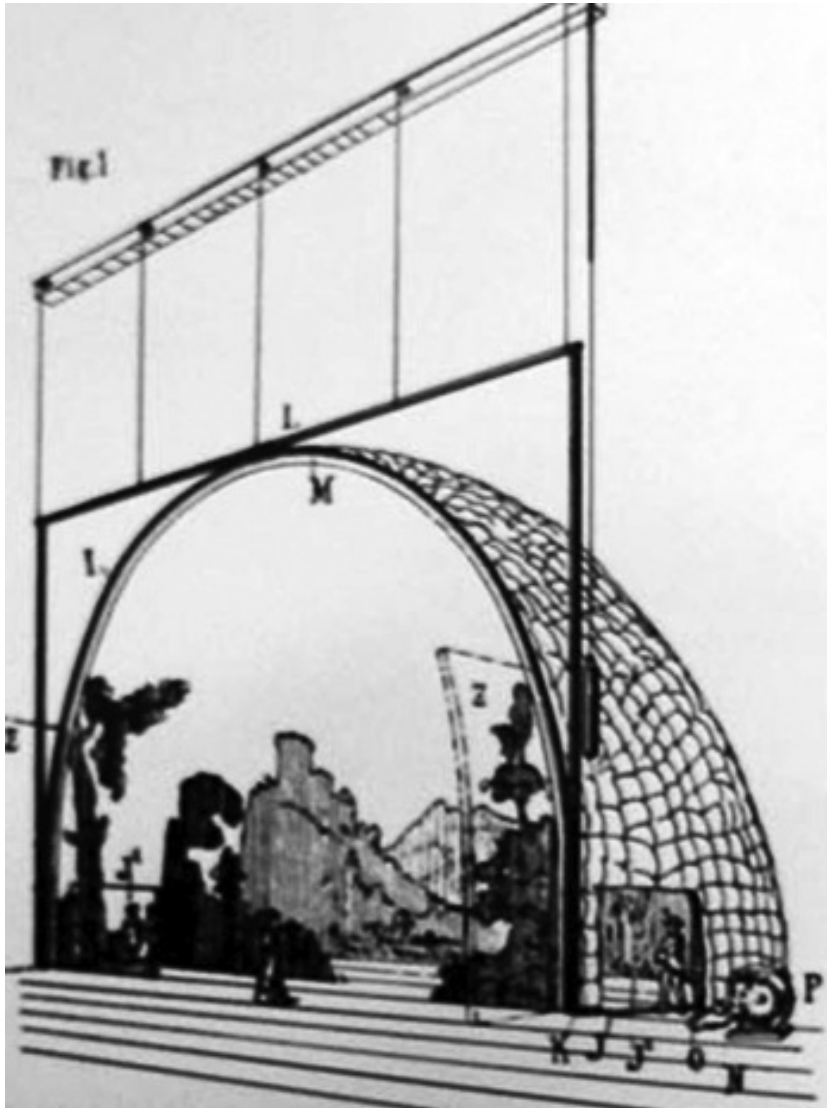


Fig. 32 Mariano Fortuny. Cyclorama. Reproduced in Guillermo de Osma, *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.





Fig 33 (top), 34 (bottom) Mariano Fortuny. Machine for testing stage lighting. 1908.  
Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Zeke Smith.



Fig. 35 Fortuny factory on Giudecca.



Fig. 36 Second floor *portego* of Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Zeke Smith.





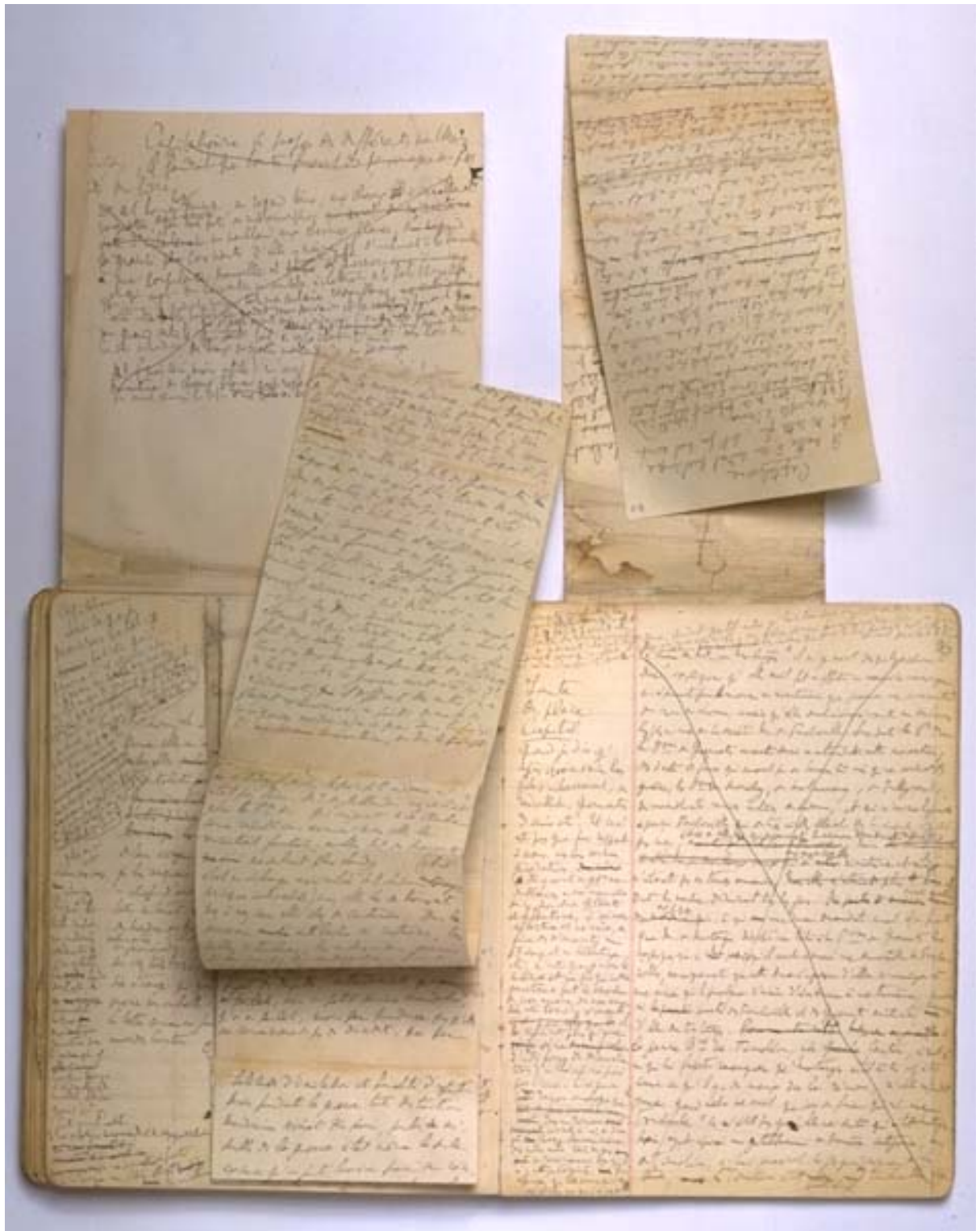


Fig. 38 Two of Proust's notebooks for *Time Regained*. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris manuscripts NAF 16691, 16697. Exhibited in 'Proust, l'écriture et les arts' directed by Jean-Yves Tadié. 9 Nov 1999 – 6 February 2000. Accessed via < <http://expositions.bnf.fr/proust/grand/322.htm>>.



Fig. 39 Henriette inking the blocks at Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Mariano Fortuny c. 1909.



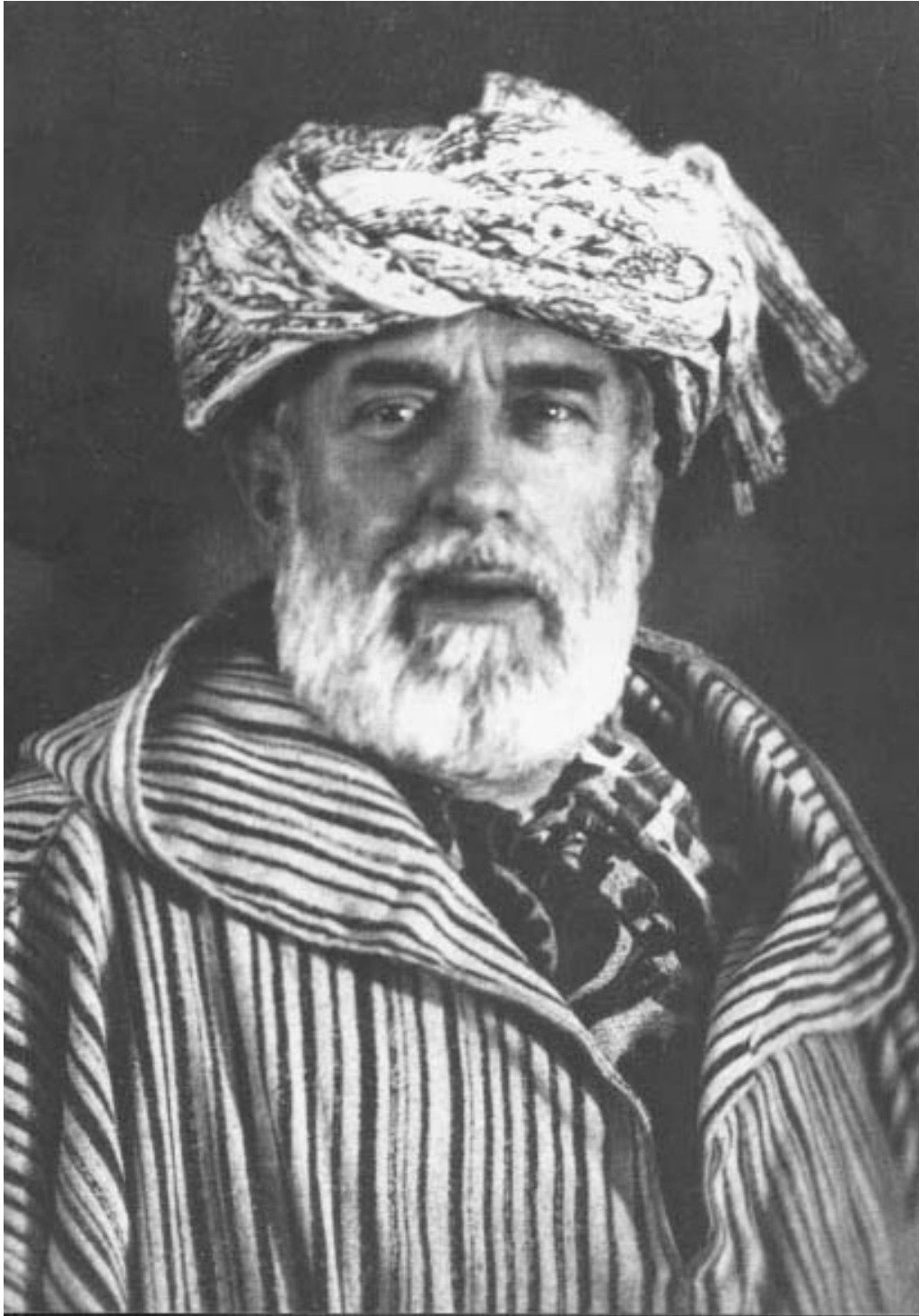


Fig. 40 Mariano Fortuny in djellaba and turban. Late 1930s. Reproduced in Guillermo de Osma., *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.

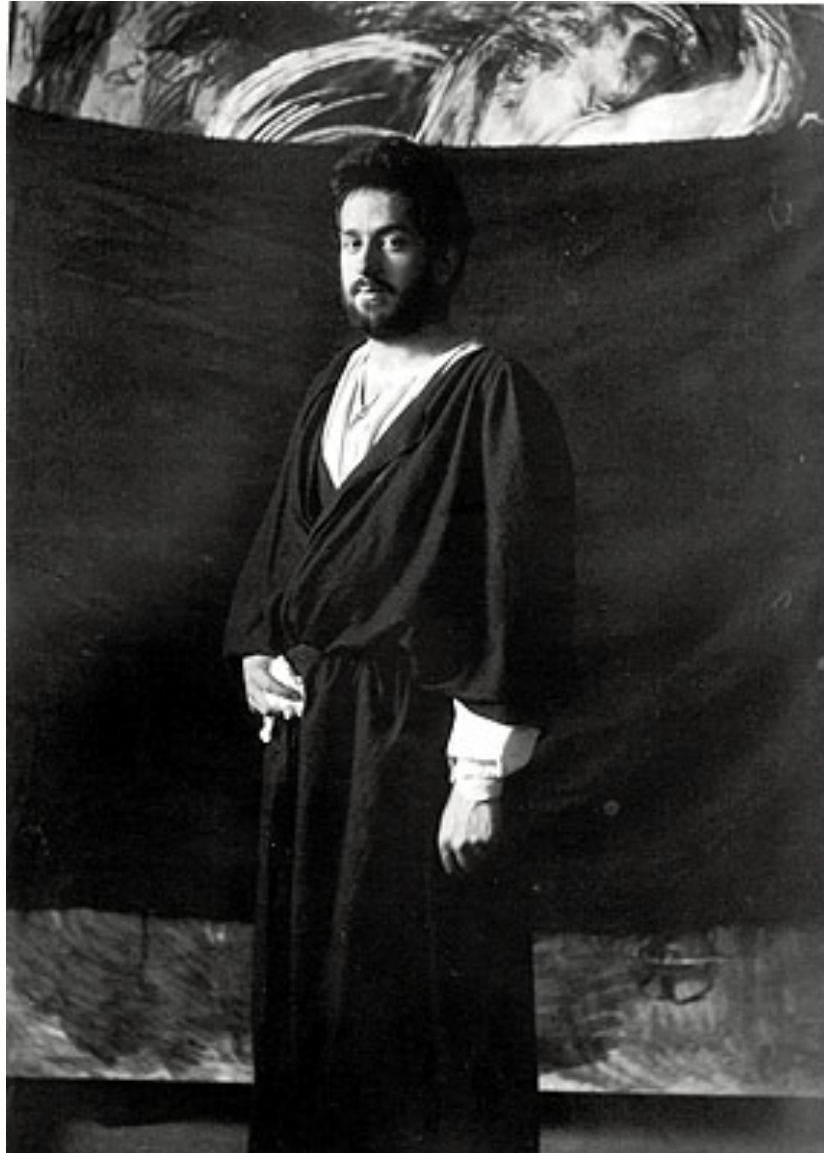


Fig. 41 Mariano Fortuny in painter's cloak. Self-portrait. Reproduced in Guillermo de Osma, *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.

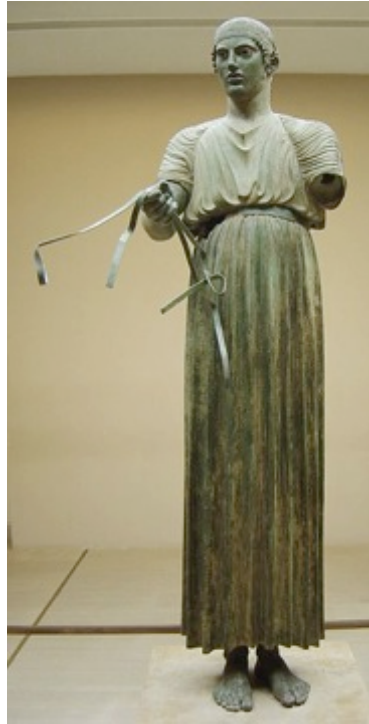


Fig. 42 *The Delphic Charioteer*. c.470 B.C. cast bronze. Delphi Archaeological Museum.



Fig. 43 Model wearing Fortuny Delphos gown. Photo Mariano Fortuny. Reproduced in Guillermo de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.



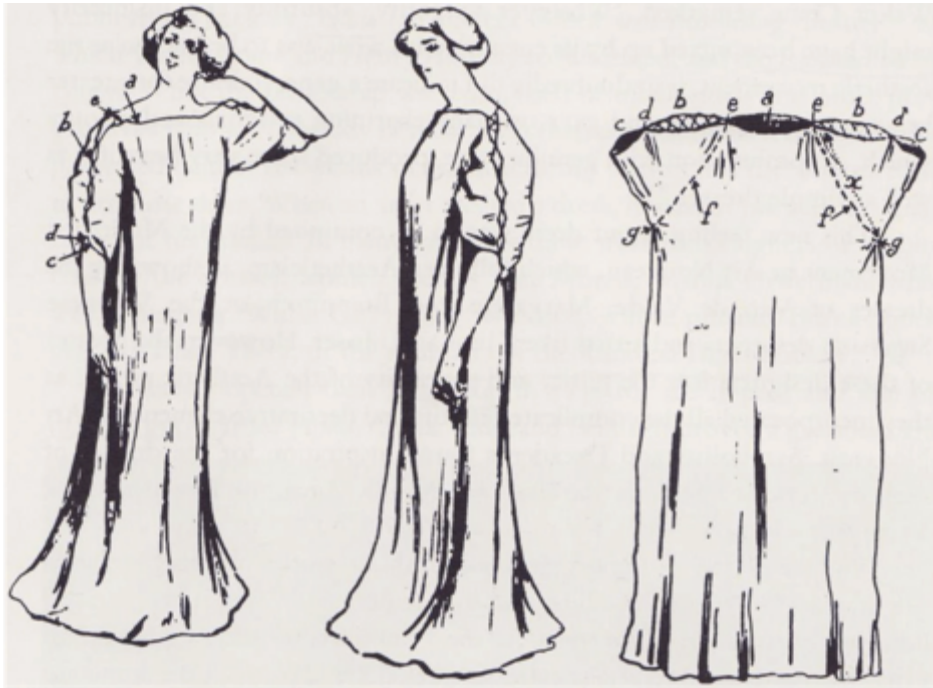


Fig. 44 Design for Delphos gown patent. Mariano Fortuny. 1909. Reproduced in Guillermo de Osma, *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.



Fig. 45 Detail of sleeve of Delphos gown with Venetian beads. (Collection of Tina Chow) Reproduced in Guillermo de Osma, *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.



Fig.46 Interior bust lining added to a Delphos gown. Gallery of Costume, Manchester.  
Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.



Fig. 47 Detail of interior underarm seam of a Delphos gown. Gallery of Costume,  
Manchester. Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.



Fig. 48 Peggy Guggenheim wearing a Delphos gown on the roof terrace of her palazzo, Venice. Undated. Reproduced in de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.



Fig. 49 Peggy Guggenheim on the way to her 80<sup>th</sup> birthday party. Venice. 1978.





Fig. 50 Peggy Guggenheim wearing a Delphos in her palazzo in Venice. c.1979.  
Reproduced in de Osma. *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.

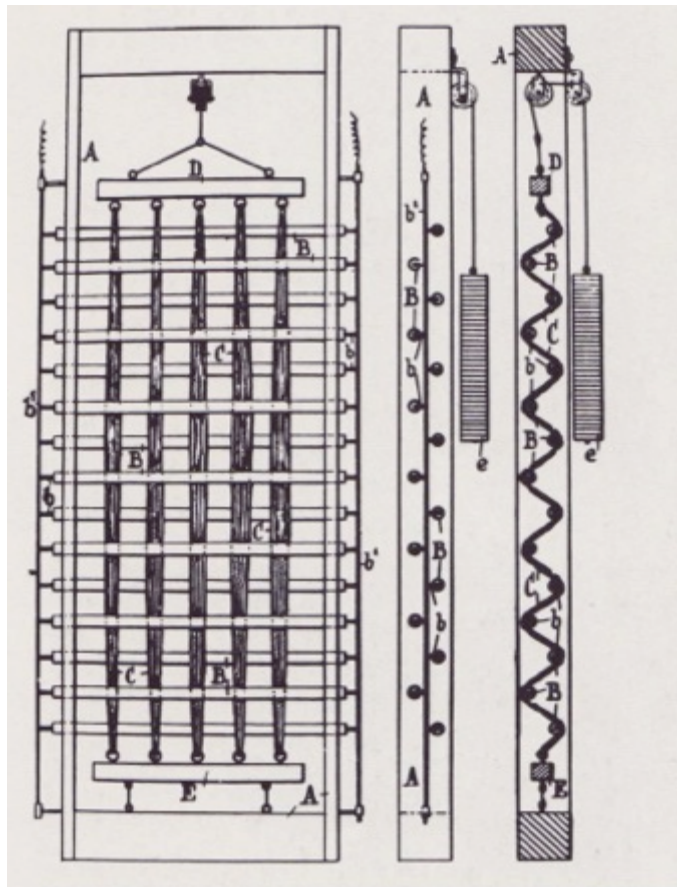


Fig. 51 Fortuny's patented pleating machine. 1909.  
Reproduced in Guillermo de Osma, *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.



Fig. 52 Film still of Lyda Borelli in *Rapsodia Satanica*. Directed by Nino Oxilia. 1915/1917.



Figs.53 a, b, c Series of film stills to show the movement of the Fortuny dress. Lyda Borelli in *Rapsodia Satanica*. Directed by Nino Oxilia. 1915/1917.



Fig. 54 *Body of a female, probably Queen Nefertiti.* Quartzite. c.1550-1069 B.C. Egypt.  
The Louvre, Paris.





Fig. 55 Abelardo Morell. *Book with Wavy Pages*. 2001.



Fig. 56 Detail of a Delphos gown. Gallery of Costume, Manchester.  
Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.



Fig. 57 Model wearing Fortuny Delphos gown and sheer printed tunic in his studio. Photo Mariano Fortuny. Reproduced in Guillermo de Osma, *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.



Fig. 58 Actress Lillian Gish wearing a Delphos gown. Reproduced in Guillermo de Osma, *Fortuny: His Life and Work*.





Fig. 59 Abelardo Morell. *Book Damaged by Water*. 2001.



Fig. 60 Detail of a Delphos gown at Gallery of Costume, Manchester.  
Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.



Fig. 61 Mariano Fortuny. Richelieu pattern. (Courtesy of Fortuny, Inc.)



Fig. 62a (left), 62b (right) Vittore Carpaccio. *Two Venetian Ladies*. 1510. Oil on wood. Museo Correr, Venice.





Fig. 63 Vittore Carpaccio. Detail of *The Arrival of the Ambassadors*. The cycle of *The Legend of Saint Ursula*. 1495-1500. Tempera on canvas. Accademia, Venice.  
Photo Zeke Smith.



Fig. 64 Vittore Carpaccio. Detail of *The Meeting of the Betrothed*. The cycle of *The Legend of Saint Ursula*. 1495-1500. Tempera on canvas. Accademia, Venice.



Fig. 65 Interior of upper floor in the Fortuny Factory. Giudecca. Reproduced in *Mariano Fortuny*.



Fig. 66 Interior of a black Delphos gown. Victoria and Albert, London.  
Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.



Fig.67 Top: 'The Fix waving cap "steals waves from the sea"'. Advertisement, detail. *Mani di fata*, VII, n.12 (December) 1931. Courtesy BPSR.' Bottom: 'Permanent waves at the hairdresser's'. Illustration Casolaro. *Sovrana*, V, n.4 (April) 1931. Courtesy BCSAC' Reproduced in *Fashion in the time of Fascism*.



Fig.68 Storage drawer of coiled Delphos gowns. Victoria and Albert, London. Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.





Fig. 69 Top: 'Tailor Cesare Magni illustrates the Plastes apparatus. L'illustrazione italiana, LXVII, n. 51 (22 December) 1940. Courtesy CPF'  
 Bottom: 'The Plastes apparatus, patented by Luigi Branchini. Illustrations to the article in Vanessa 'Un'invenzione per eliminare l'errore e risparmiare stoffa. *Rassegna dell'Ente nazionale della moda*, VI, n 5-11 (June) 1941. Courtesy BPSR'. Reproduced in *Fashion in the Time of Fascism*.

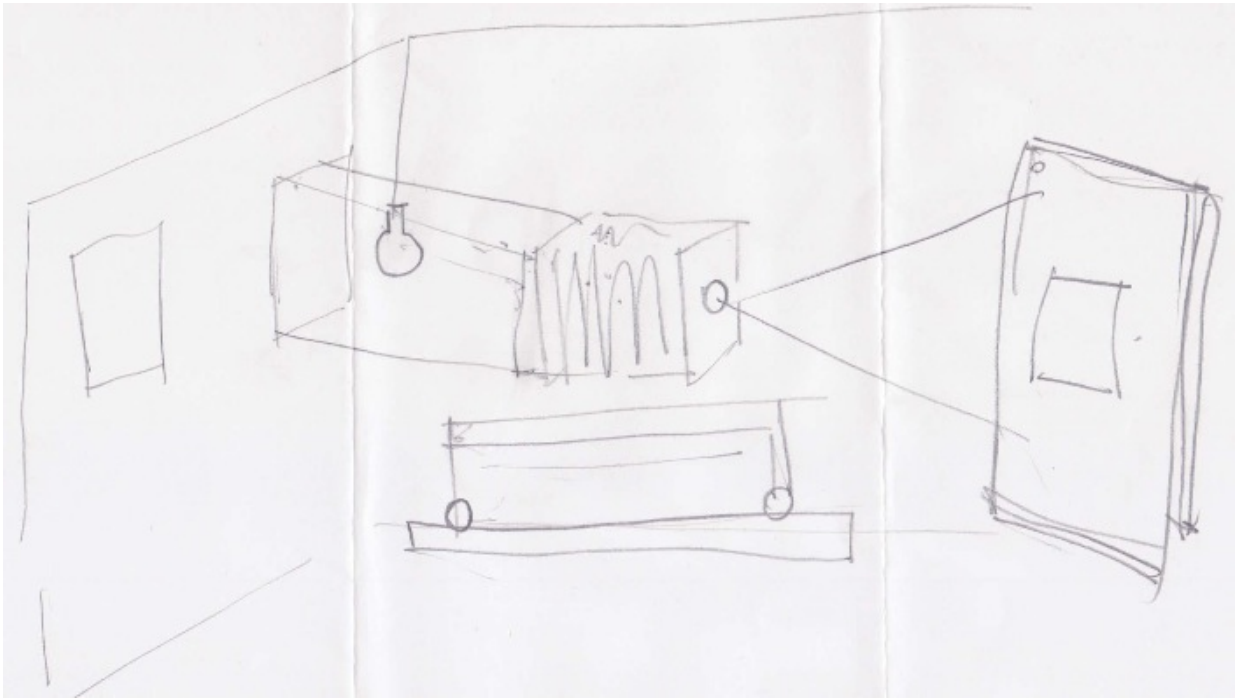


Fig. 70 Sketch by Claudio Franzini illustrating the darkroom in Palazzo Orfei. June 2011.  
 (The bulb in the extended bellows was meant to indicate a later addition.)

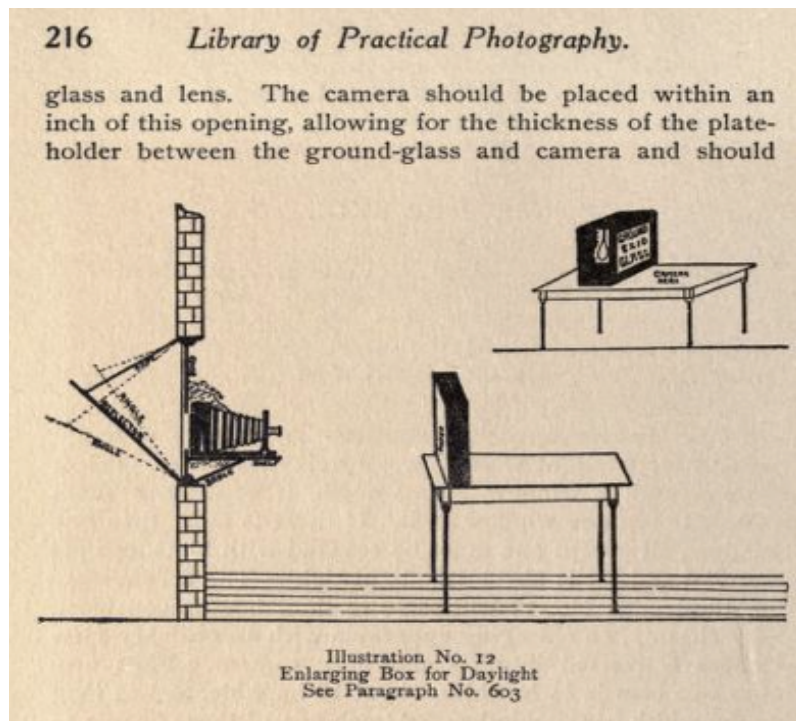


Fig. 71 J.B. Schriever 'Daylight Enlarging With the View or Hand Camera'. chapter XXIX  
*Complete Self-Instructing Library of Practical Photography*. Vol. 5 Part 2. American School  
 of Art and Photography, 1909. 216.



Fig. 72 Fortuny's sketches for the folding cyclorama, Museo Fortuny.

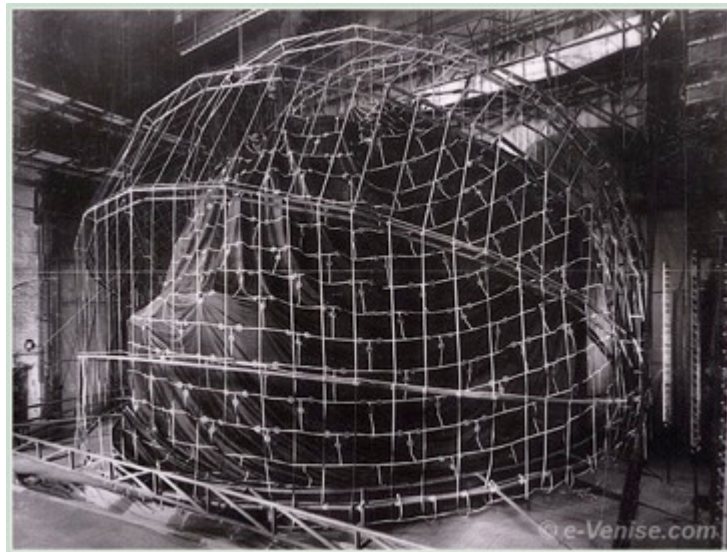


Fig. 73 Fortuny's folding cyclorama shown without exterior fabric.



Fig. 74 Crinoline cage. C. 1860. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.





Fig. 75 Abelardo Morell. 'Tent camera' in Piazza del Duomo, Florence, Italy 2010.

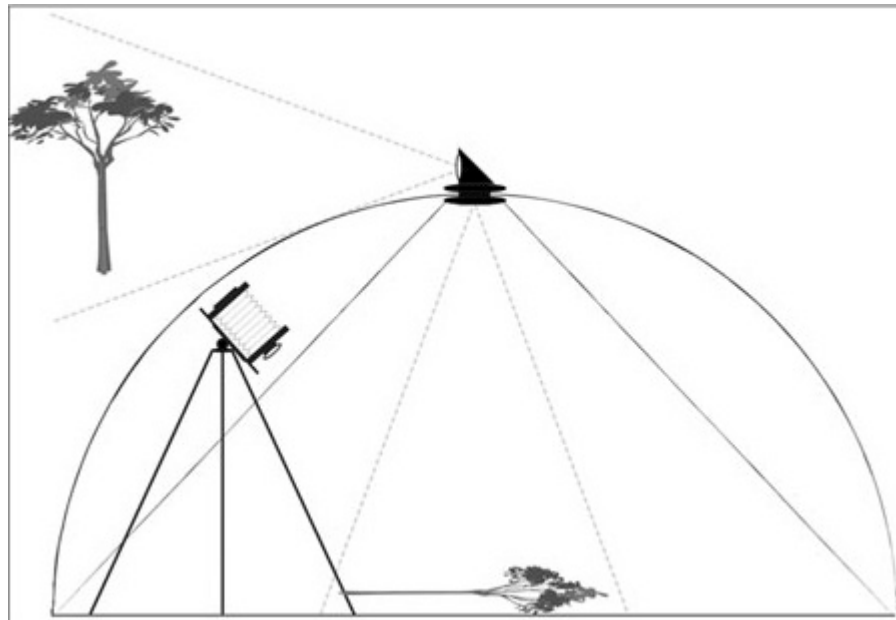


Fig. 76 Abelardo Morell. 'Tent camera' diagram.



Fig. 77 Samuel van Hoogstraten. *A Peepshow with Views of the Interior of a Dutch House*. c. 1655-60. National Gallery, London.



Fig. 78 Theatre maquette toys in the attic of a Florentine apartment, Via della Vigna Nuova, 17. Photo Wendy Ligon Smith March 2013.



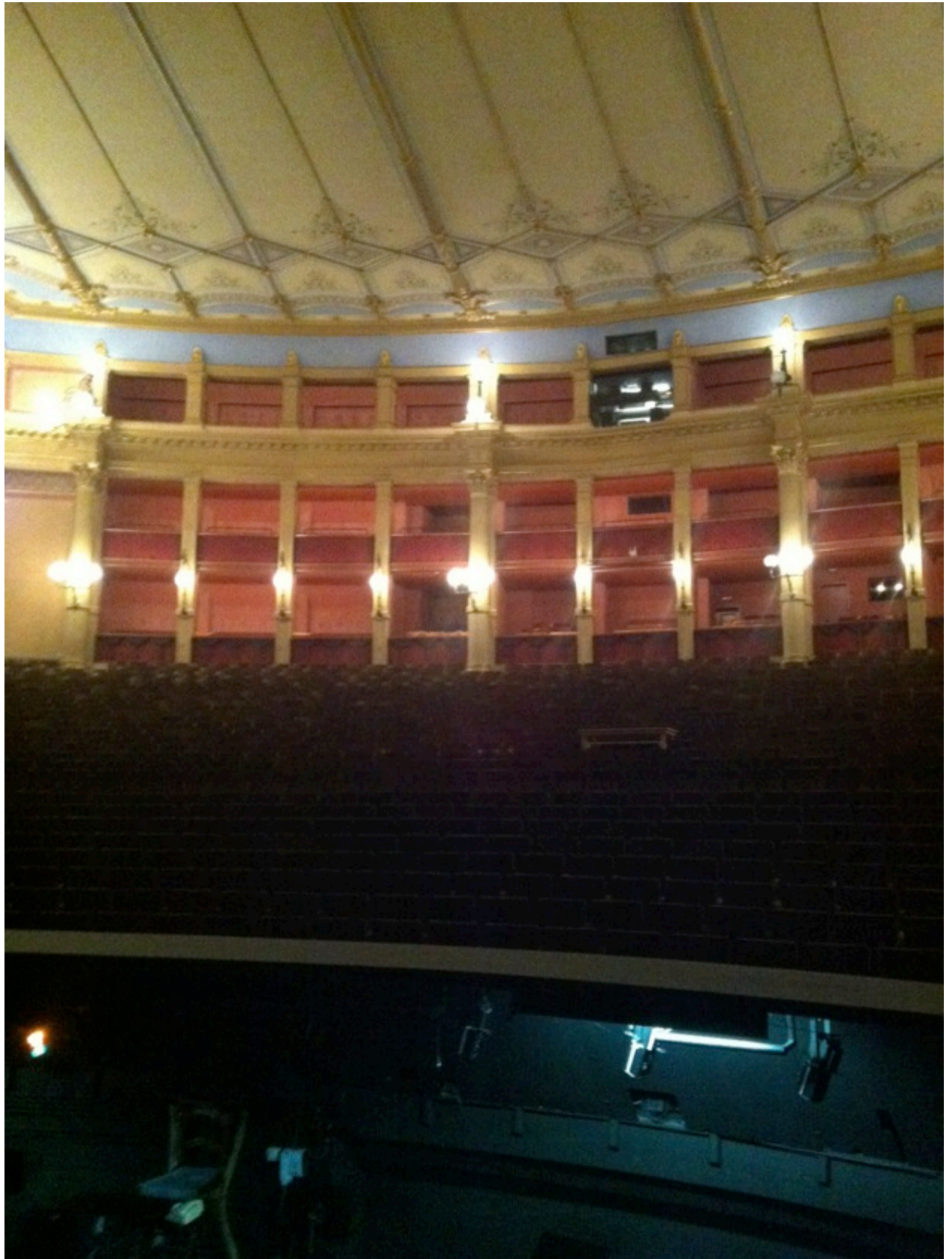


Fig. 79 Bayreuth Theatre *Festspielhaus*. View from the stage.  
Photo Wendy Ligon Smith



Fig. 80 Mariano Fortuny. *View of the Bayreuth Theatre*. 1891. Gelatine plate. Museo Fortuny.

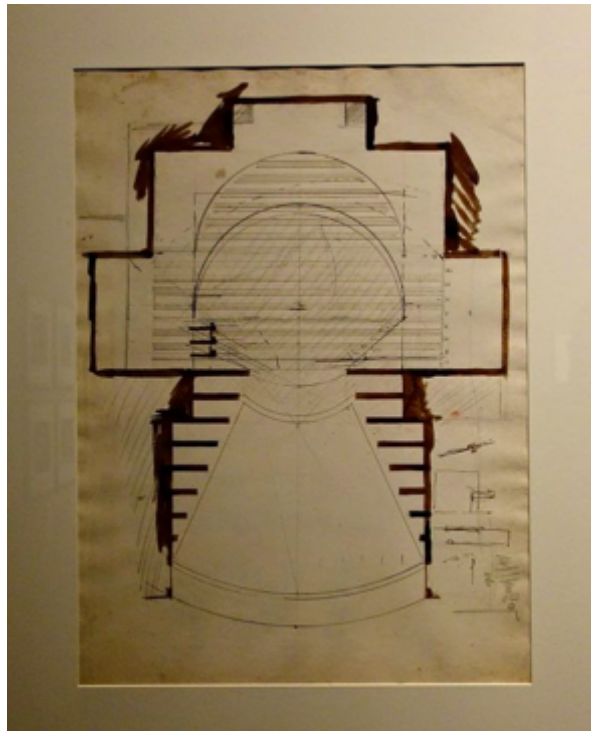


Fig. 81 Mariano Fortuny. Design plan for cupola installation at Bayreuth Theatre.



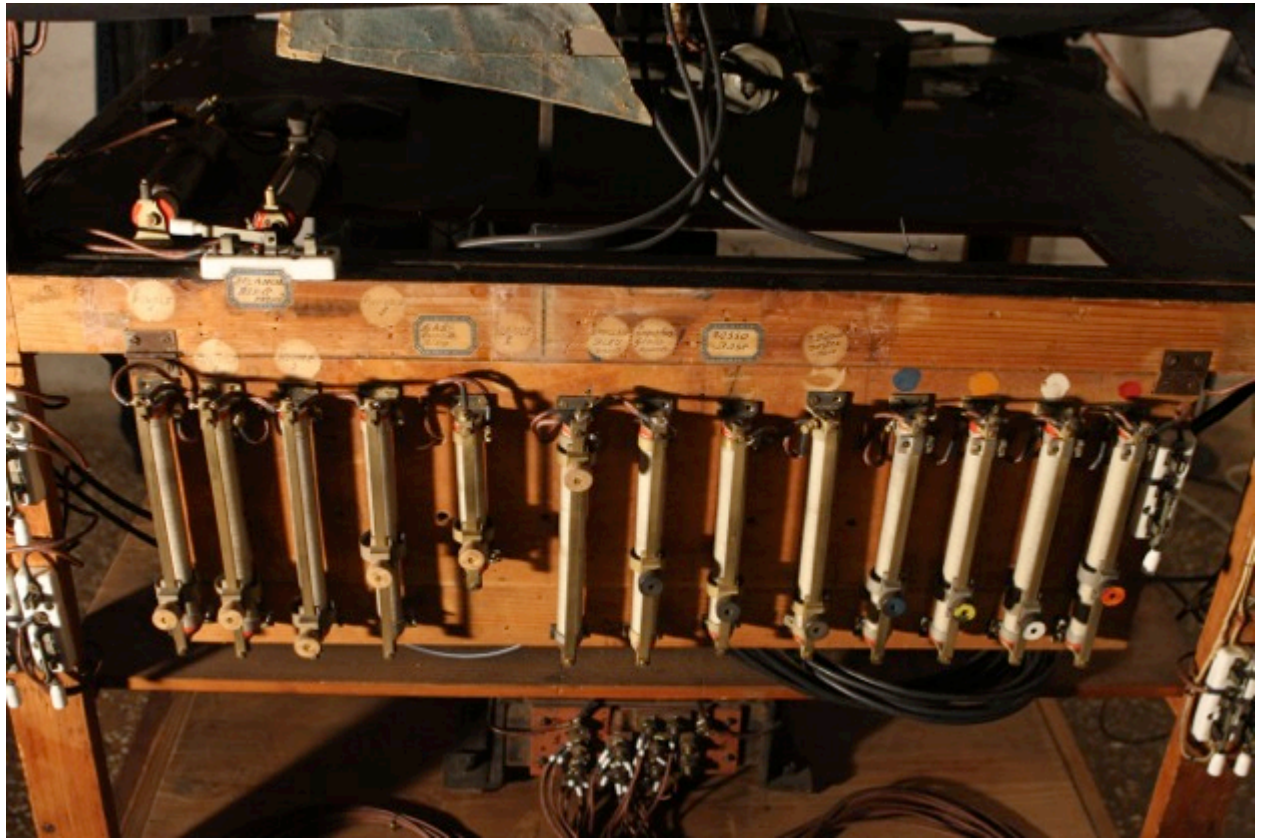


Fig. 82 Mariano Fortuny. Bayreuth Theatre Model (before restoration), Palazzo Fortuny.



Fig. 83 View of the cupola on Fortuny's Bayreuth Theatre model with rows of blue lights. Photo Zeke Smith.





Figs. 84a (top), 84b (bottom) Controls for different coloured lights and cloud lamps on Fortuny's Bayreuth Theatre model. Photos Zeke Smith.



Fig. 85 Controls for coloured lights and cloud lamps on Fortuny's Bayreuth Theatre model. Photo Zeke Smith.



Fig. 86 Switch for the moon lamp on Fortuny's Bayreuth Theatre model. Photo Zeke Smith.



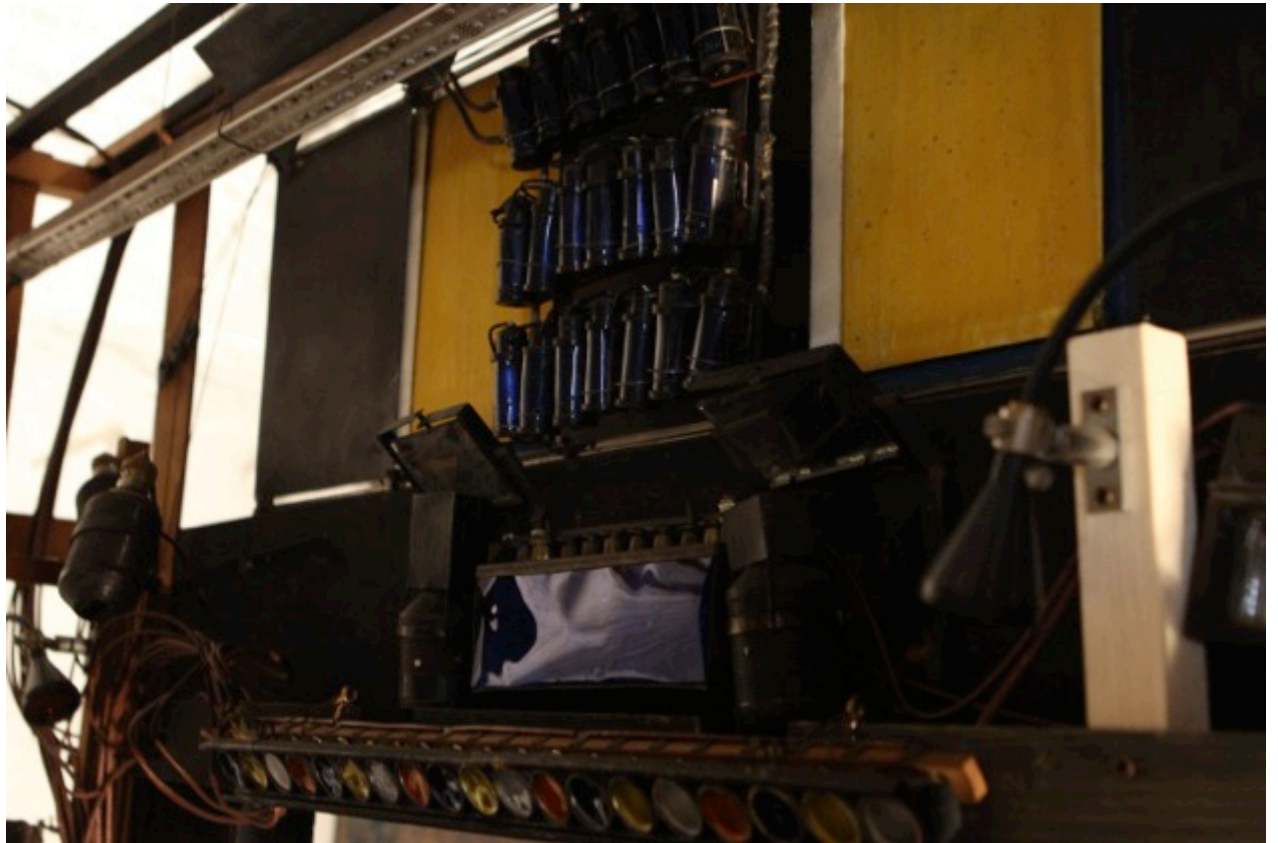


Fig. 87a (top) 87 b (bottom) Lamps above the stage in Fortuny's Bayreuth Theatre model. Photos Zeke Smith.



Fig. 88 Fortuny's carbon arc lamps. Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Zeke Smith.





Figs. 89a (top), 89b (bottom) Fortuny's cloud plates. Palazzo Fortuny.  
Photos by Zeke Smith.

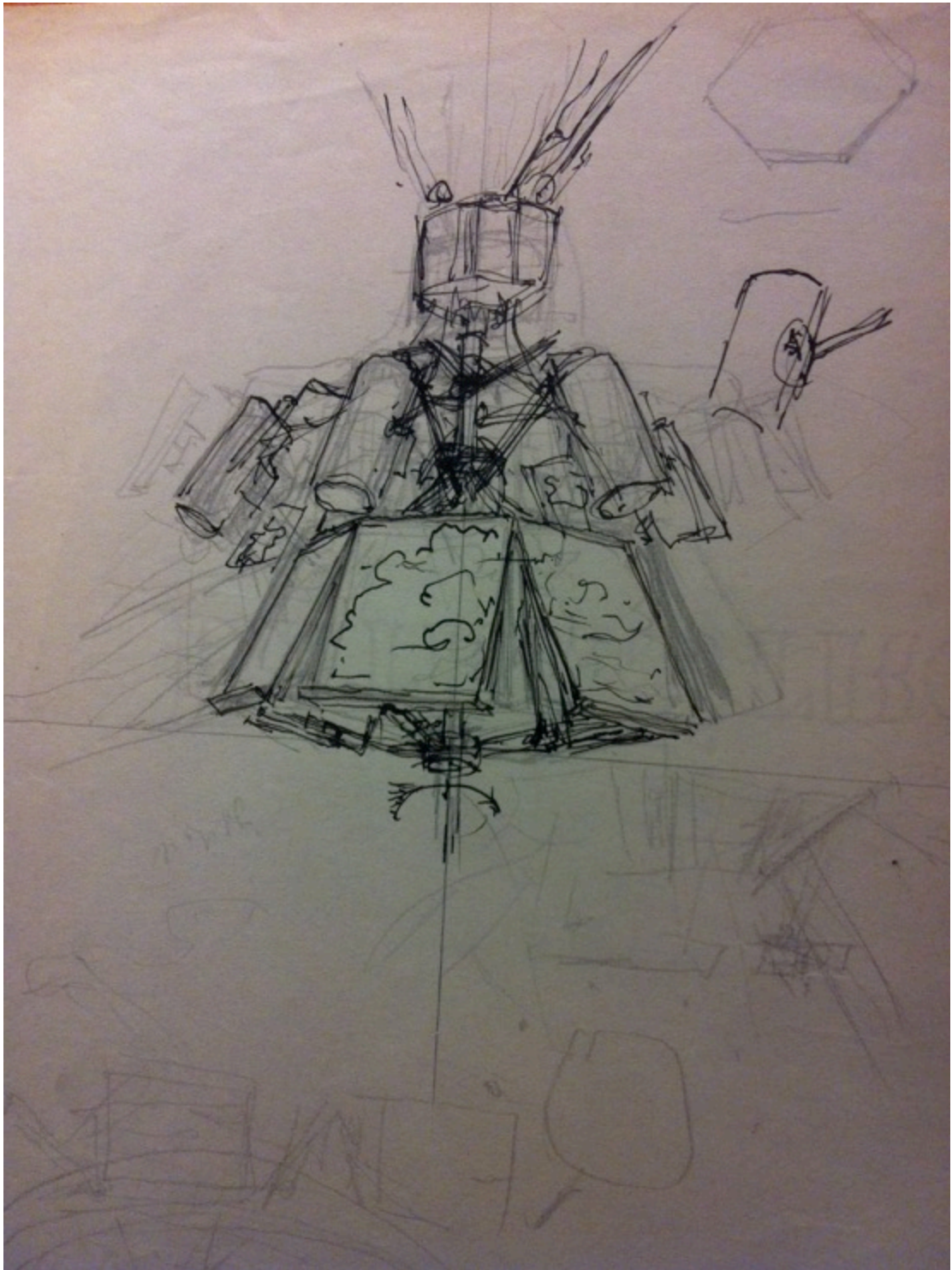


Fig. 90 Fortuny's sketch of his rotating cloud projector. *Théâtre Lumière*. c1940-49. in the archives of Museo Fortuny.





Figs. 91a (left), 91b (right) Views from inside the orchestra pit at the Bayreuth *Festspielhaus*. Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.

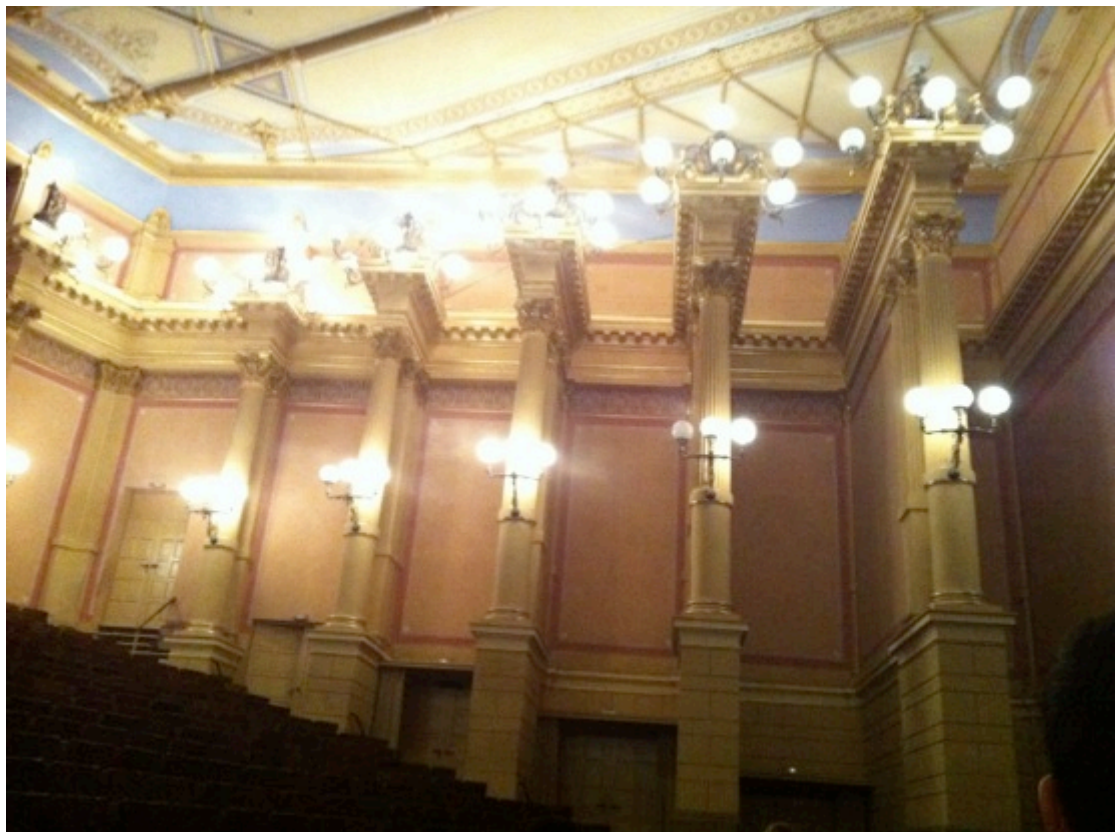


Fig. 92 Staggered proscenium in the Bayreuth *Festspielhaus*. Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.



Figs. 93 (top), 94 (bottom) Mariano Fortuny. Carbon contact print, c.1931. [album fotografico tessuti] Museo Fortuny. Photographed by Claudio Franzini.





Figs. 95(top), 96 (bottom) Mariano Fortuny. Carbon contact print, c.1931. [album fotografico tessuti] Museo Fortuny. Photographed by Claudio Franzini.





Figs. 97 (top), 98 a, b (bottom) Mariano Fortuny. Carbon contact print, c.1931. [album fotografico tessuti] Museo Fortuny. Photographed by Claudio Franzini.





Fig. 99 a (top), 99 b (bottom) Samuel Joshua Beckett. *Loie Fuller Dancing*. London. c.1900. Gelatine silver prints. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.







Fig. 101 Film still from 'Le Cri de la Soie' showing Dr. de Villemer (based on de Clérambault) researching Mariano Fortuny's silk. Directed by Yvon Marciano, 1996.



Fig. 102 Film still from 'Le Cri de la Soie' showing Dr. de Villemer researching Mariano Fortuny silk samples. Directed by Yvon Marciano, 1996.



Fig. 103 Film still from 'Le Cri de la Soie' showing one of Dr. de Villemer's patients fondling the silk in a department store before stealing it. Directed by Yvon Marciano, 1996.



Fig. 104 William Henry Fox Talbot. 'Lace'. Salted paper print (photogram), 1845.  
Museum of Modern Art, New York.



Fig. 105 Film still from 'Le Cri de la Soie' showing Dr. de Villemer's photographs wrapped in blue silk. Directed by Yvon Marciano, 1996.



Plate 1(left) Plate 2(right) Fortuny lamps at Palazzo Fortuny. Photos Zeke Smith.



Plate 3 Salon interior of Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Claudio Franzini.





Plates 4, 5, 6 Mariano Fortuny. Bayreuth Theatre Model with various lighting effects. 1903.  
Palazzo Fortuny. Photos Zeke Smith.



Plate 7 Mariano Fortuny. Climactic scene with the rainbow bridge from 'Das Rheingold'. Undated. Museo Fortuny, Venice.



Plate 8 Cyanometer. Bibliothèque de Genève, Switzerland.





Plates 9a (top),b (bottom) *The Painter's Children, María Luisa and Mariano, in the Japanese Room*. Mariano Fortuny y Marsal. 1874. Oil on canvas. 44cm x 93cm. Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid.



Plates 10a (top), 10b(bottom) Paolo Salviati. From the series, *Ricordo di Venezia*. [Memories of Venice] 1880. 12 hand-coloured albumen prints from wet collodion plates. 28 x 38cm. Digitised by Gallica, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

<<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8442878h>>





Plate 11 *La Porta d'Acqua*.(added coloured glass) Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Zeke Smith.



Plate 12 Ground floor path from *la porta d'acqua* to the courtyard, (added security lighting). Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Zeke Smith.



Plate 13 Mariano Fortuny. *The painter's studio*. Tempera on wood. Undated. Palazzo Orfei.





Plate 14a(top), 14b (bottom) Fortuny's studio with his easel and painting supplies. Palazzo Fortuny. Zeke Smith. (dresses moved in for contemporary display). Reproduced in *Mariano Fortuny: la seta & il velluto*.



Plate 15a (top), 15b (bottom) . Studio of Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo at Palazzo Orfei. (with mannequins for contemporary display). Reproduced in *Mariano Fortuny: la seta & il velluto*.





Plate 16 Cordoned off library. Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Zeke Smith.





Plate 17 Stairs leading to the *la altana*. Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Zeke Smith.

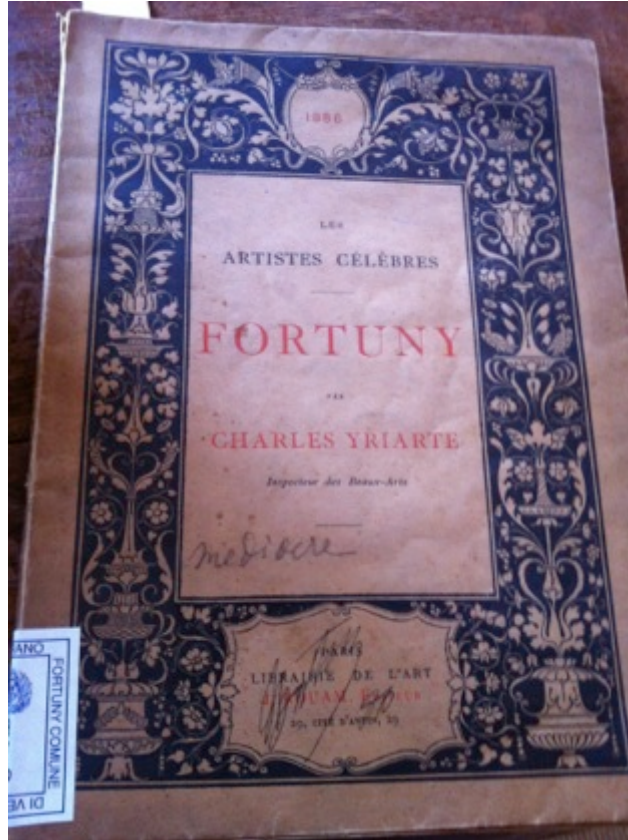


Plate 18 Cover of Charles Yriarte. *Les Artiste Célèbres: Fortuny*. (Paris: J. Rouam) 1886. Catalogued as A7.20. Annotated by Mariano Fortuny y Madrazo. Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.



Plate 19a (left), 19b (right) Mariano Fortuny. Study of flowers copied from his father. Oil on wood. 1889. Palazzo Fortuny.





Plate 20 Library in Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Claudio Franzini.



Plate 21a (top), 21b (bottom) Display of some of Fortuny's albums in Palazzo Fortuny.  
Photo Zeke Smith.





Plate 22 Mariano Fortuny. Peplos gown. Victoria and Albert, London.  
Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.



Plate 23 Mariano Fortuny. Peplos gown [detail of beaded hem]. Victoria and Albert, London.  
Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.



Plate 24 Mariano Fortuny. Silk tea gown in the collection of the Costume Institute at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Plate 25a(top), 25b (bottom) Mariano Fortuny. Printed Delphos gown. Victoria and Albert, London. Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.





Plate 26 Mariano Fortuny. Delphos gown and printed velvet evening jacket. Victoria and Albert, London.



Plate 27 Mariano Fortuny. Delphos gown and printed velvet evening cloak. Victoria and Albert, London.



Plate 28 Detail of Delphos sleeve. Gallery of Costume, Manchester.  
Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.



Plate 29 Detail of Delphos held to the light. Gallery of Costume, Manchester.  
Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.





Plate 30 Interior of a Delphos gown. Victoria and Albert, London.  
Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.



Plate 31a(left), 31b (right) Storage of Delphos gowns at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Photos Wendy Ligon Smith.



Plate 32 Cobalt and Ultramarine dye powders at Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Zeke Smith.



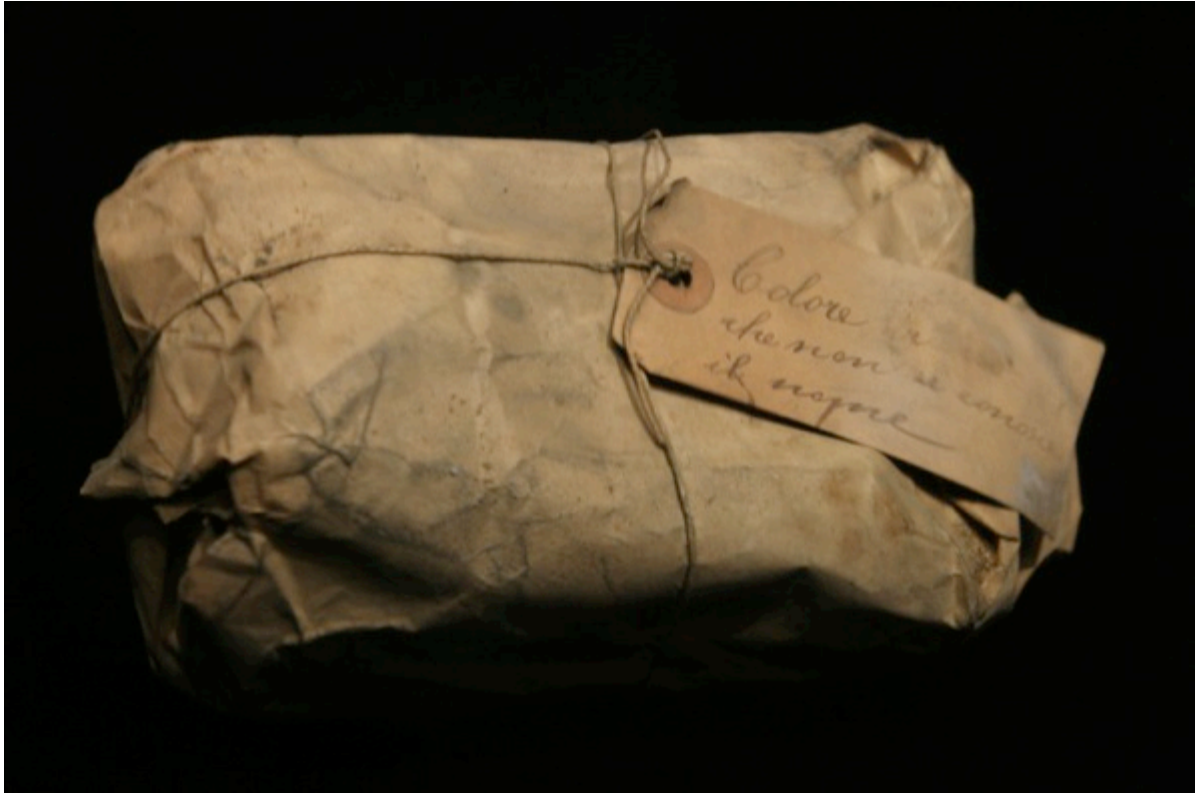


Plate 33 'Colour with an unknown name' at Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Zeke Smith.



Plate 34 Bright azure powder spilling out of a package labelled 'colour without a name' at Palazzo Fortuny. Photo Zeke Smith.



Plate 35 Fortuny. Lined velvet kimono cloak. Kyoto Costume Institute, Tokyo.





Plate 36 Abelardo Morell. *Camera Obscura: Santa Maria Della Salute in Palazzo Bedroom.* Venice, Italy 2006.



Plate 37 Abelardo Morell. *Camera Obscura: Santa Maria Della Salute in Palazzo Living Room.* Venice, Italy 2006.



Plate 38 Abelardo Morell. *Camera Obscura: Grand Canal Looking West Toward the Accademia Bridge in Palazzo Room Under Construction*. Venice, Italy. 2007.



Plate 39 Abelardo Morell. *Camera Obscura: The Pantheon in Hotel Albergo Del Sole al Pantheon, Room #111*. Rome, Italy. 2008.



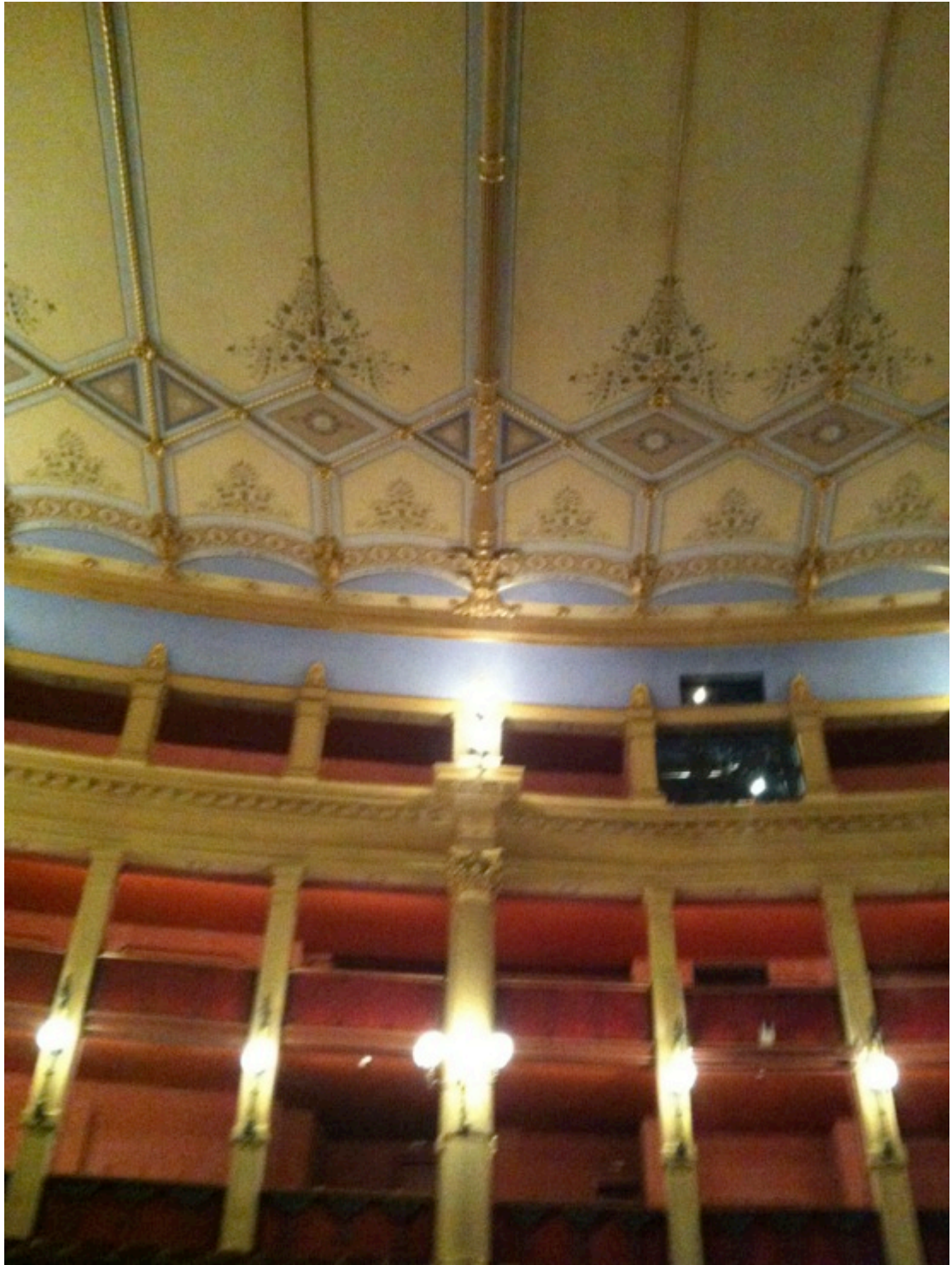


Plate 40 Painted sunshield at the *Festspielhaus*. Photo Wendy Ligon Smith.

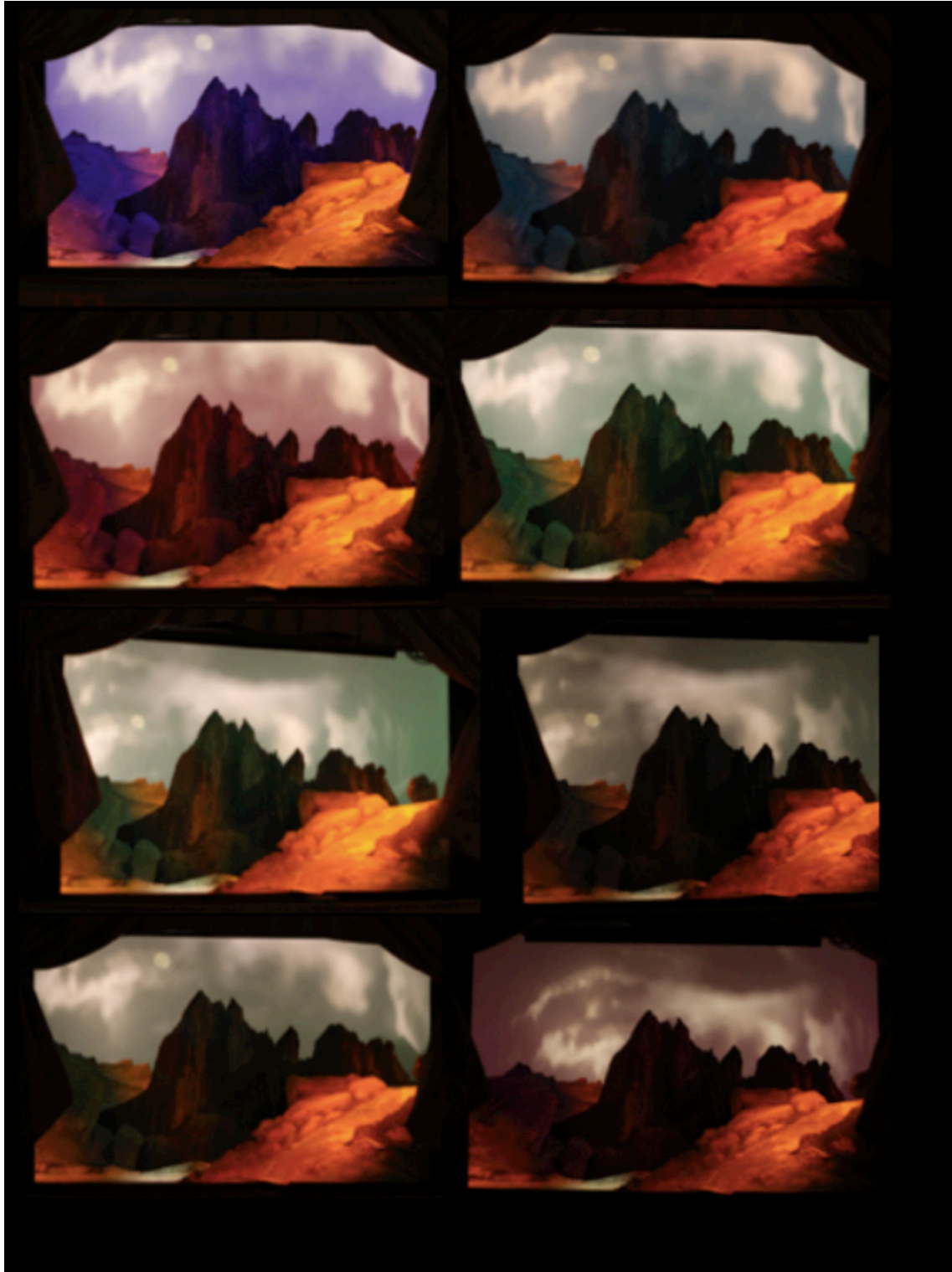


Plate 41 Various positions of the original lighting system with cloud plates and moon lamp on Fortuny's Bayreuth Theatre model. Photos Zeke Smith.





Plate 42 Blue lamps above the stage of Fortuny's Bayreuth Theatre model.  
Photo Zeke Smith.



Plate 43a(top), 43b (bottom) Small projection lantern used in Fortuny's Bayreuth Theatre model. Photos Zeke Smith.





Plate 44 Mariano Fortuny. Carbon contact print, c.1931. [album fotografico tessuti] Museo Fortuny. Photographed by Claudio Franzini.



Plate 45 Steven McQueen. *Barrage [Dam]* 32, 1998. Chromogenic colour print. 45.7X68.8cm. Marian Goodman Gallery, New York/Paris.



Plate 46 Alain Fleischer. *Les Paysages de Sol [Groundscape]*, 1967. Series 1967-68. Chromogenic colour prints. 42X60cm. Private Collection, Paris.





Plate 47a Cy Twombly, *Untitled, Lexington*, 2001. Wood, plastic, pulp, printed paper, plaster resin color, and acrylic. 30 X 40 X 29.8 cm. Collection of the artist, Gagosian Gallery.



Plate 47b [detail] Cy Twombly, *Untitled, Lexington*, 2001.



Plate 48 Mariano Fortuny. *Garden of Ornaments and Odoriferous Spirits* (Flower Maidens from *Parsifal*). 1896. Oil on canvas, painted frame with carved German inscription. Palazzo Fortuny.



Plate 49 Mariano Fortuny. *Kundry* (from *Parsifal*). c.1925. Tempera on panel. Palazzo Fortuny.

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